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THE FRENCH METRICAL VERSIONS
OF
BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT

MACON, PROTAT FRÈRES, IMPRIMEURS.

ELLIOTT MONOGRAPHS

IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG

10

THE FRENCH METRICAL VERSIONS

OF

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE TERMINATION IN GUI DE CAMBRAI

BY

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG



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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VERSIONS

There have come down to us three metrical French versions of the Barlaam and Josaphat, and these three are, so far as we know, the only ones that were composed in Old-French verse¹. If, measured according to the canons of modern taste, the number of renderings is sufficient, it seems modest in comparison with the manifold manuscripts of the *Historia de Vitis et Rebus gestis Sanctorum Barlaam Eremitæ et Josaphat Regis Indorum*, the Latin source of the French poems. Not only so, but each author has utilized the theme in his own individual fashion, and the three works differ in conception and in execution. The Anonymous *Barlaam et Josaphat* and Gui de Cambrai's version were of about the same length, in the neighborhood of thirteen thousand lines, while Chardri confines himself to the narrative elements of the *Historia*, reducing them to the space of 2934 lines.

By reason of this radical compression, Chardri's *Josaphaz* stands apart, and the aims of this study do not demand its detailed discussion. It is of interest to note that already one of the early translators into French verse felt that his audience would be appealed to only by the thread of the story, and that it would willingly dispense with the exposition of religious history and doctrine which formed so large a part of the Latin text. He even eliminates the numerous apologues

1. The early inventories of the Librairie du Louvre record a rimed "Josaphat et Balaam," with the record that the second folio began : *Sor crestiens*; see Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, 1868-81, Vol. III, p. 166. In no existing manuscript of any version does a folio so commence, but in Gui de Cambrai's poem there is a line : *Sor crestiens et sor lor vie* (line 190 in the Monte Cassino MS, and line 118 in the Paris MS, which lacks the prologue). Thus it seems probable that we have here a reference merely to a lost manuscript of Gui de Cambrai's work.

that had doubtless contributed substantially to the popularity of the *Historia*. The other two authors had themselves felt the need of reducing the space allotted to sermonizing, but their excisions are scanty in comparison to his.

The contrast between the other two versions is, save in the matter of length, clear-cut. The author of the anonymous poem, in his prologue, claims to be the first to treat the theme in French. However that may be, he could well have laid claim to the title of the most faithful among the interpreters of his original. He himself lays down his program : he would gladly have left it to a more able writer to do the work, and to any of his hearers who may be moved to reword his account with greater art he offers a hearty God-speed ; as for himself :

Ce que ge faz de cest afaire
Ne faz pas tant por romanz faire
Con ge faz por la bone estoire
Metre [e] en us e en memoire¹.

Every line of his work bears testimony to the seriousness with which he pursued his aim. The Latin text was the only medium thru which there had come down the history of these two holy men. Thus he was, as it were, the trustee to whom was confided the truth to be transmitted to his hearers. For the passages of the *Historia* dealing with Biblical history or religious doctrine, he knows that there are other authorities of equal or greater weight, and he allows himself a certain freedom in omitting, condensing, or paraphrasing them, but he handles all narrative passages with scrupulous exactitude. He adheres to the substance, and, as far as is possible, to the wording and even to the general phrase structure, allowing himself only the addition from time to time of an extra line to provide an indispensable rime. It is surprising to see the accuracy and completeness

1. Prologue, lines 23-26.

with which as a rule he succeeds in transposing, down to the last qualifier, Latin sentences into smooth and natural French verse, free from traces of the effort that must have lain behind it. To make such a rendering was no easy task, and we can sympathetically take to heart the exhortation which terminates the text :

Por celui doivent tuit proier
 Clerc e borjois e chevalier —
 Soit evesques o clers o prestre,
 Dieus li otroit l'amor celestre ! —
 Qui de cez deus mist en memoire
 La vie, la mort e l'estoire.
 Pensé i a mainte semaine,
 Molt a bien emploïé sa paine,
 Estudié maintes vesprees
 E veillié plusors matinees.
 Or prion Dieu qu'il vive a aise
 E que s'oroison a Dieu plaise
 E que s'ame soit en remire
 E en repos e sanz martire
 Au jor qu'ele devïera
 E que del cors se partira.

In accord with the sincerity and single-mindedness of the author's religious intent is his preservation of anonymity. It is true that portions of two of the three manuscripts have been destroyed, and that in the third, the only one containing the beginning and the end, the work has undergone various alterations and excisions. Consequently the absence of his name from the manuscripts does not exclude the possibility that it was present in the original. If, however, the epilogue just quoted is of his composition, we can be sure that he is himself responsible for our ignorance of his identity, for, while it is specified that the author is a cleric, this information is accompanied by a refusal to designate so much as his rank in the hierarchy ("soit evesques o clers o prestre"). Even if the passage were the interpolation of a subsequent redactor, it would show that at least this redac-

tor did not know who composed the poem; since, however, the author is referred to as a man still living, there is ground for confidence that the statement is from his own pen, and that we possess in it the only clue which he has furnished about himself. That the reference is not to the author of the antecedent Latin version is indicated with sufficient clearness by the character of the passage.

It is possible that the writer's self-effacement deprives us of a name which would have served to link this work with some other that has come down to us, for it is improbable that one who handled so readily the French language and who showed himself so familiar with the current canons of versification was a tyro in literary composition.

One statement in the epilogue, *molt a bien emploié sa paine*, may at first sight seem to offer a suggestion of self-satisfaction out of keeping with the rest, but in this context the implication of 'he has employed his toil to good purpose' is: 'in choosing this theme'. Such an interpretation, already acceptable as the passage now stands, becomes obligatory if, as is probable, this and the preceding line were in reverse order in the original text.

Choosing to remain unnamed, the author is also indifferent to that first step toward assuring the popularity, and the remunerativeness, of his production: he selects for it no influential or wealthy patron, and leaves it without a dedication.

Gui de Cambrai approached the theme in different spirit. He makes no claim that his was the first French version, but he twice (lines 5328 and 6215) names himself as the author. In each instance he couples with his name the statement that he was translating from the Latin, and in the second passage indicates the channels thru which he obtained access to the specific Latin manuscript he utilized. Whether or not he was acquainted with any other French version, we shall see in the course of this study that there is no evidence that any of his material was drawn therefrom. Thus, like his

competitor, he links up directly with the *Historia*, but his attitude toward his source is quite dissimilar. He follows, as a rule, closely enough the thread of the Latin exposition, but allows himself much more liberty in dealing with its verbal detail. Nor does the divergence stop at this freer rendering. Gui avails himself of every opportunity to display his knowledge of classical history and mythology. He further introduces the well-known debate of the body and soul¹ and devotes to it over five hundred lines (11943-12572), finding evident satisfaction in the adjustment of the dialogue to fit the case of Josaphat. When relating the temptation of Josaphat by the damsels, he is allured by the satirical commonplace of his and of other times, and interjects twenty-three lines (8535-57) in order to state that

Malise, orgius et desmesure
Truevent en femme tost hostel,
Et li dyables autretel.

In nearly all these embellishments with worldly ornament, Gui seems to be seeking the attention of a lettered or an aristocratic audience. The anonymous author is other-worldly in his outlook, Gui is a man of his times, who is ready, when need be, to fight the devil with fire. In one instance his effort to render palatable to his auditors this work of edification has led to the introduction of an episode which runs counter to the whole spirit of the theme. Josaphat, the disguised and Christianized Buddha, whose weapons are not of this world and whose life should serve as a model for the primitive monasticism of apartness and contemplation, is made to do violence to his rôle, for Gui de Cambrai, in a lengthy digression (9801-11174), has him take up arms to defend his share of the realm against his father Avenir, so that he marshals his hosts in a long-drawn-out battle, wherein Gui employs all the stock paraphernalia of the *chansons de geste*.

1. See Batiouchkoff, *Rom.*, Vol. 20 (1891), p. 569.

Instead of the moral power of Josaphat's religion, it is Josaphat's victory as a warrior that finally brings Avenir over to Christianity. The central theme of the story, the impotence of worldly and of devilish weapons against a spiritual defense, is thus nullified at its culminating point. This is striking evidence of how far afield from his model Gui was ready to go.

In contrast with the other author, Gui designates patrons for his book, and in dedicating it to Gilles and Marie de Marquais he employs his art that he may give to his praise an effective and flattering form.

From this summary of Gui's characteristic divergences from his model there has seemingly been omitted one of the most noteworthy points. The anonymous author leaves wholly to his readers the application of his history to their own epoch, while the Cambrai text four times attacks prelate and aristocrat, hurling anathema upon them and exhorting them to repent. There is almost no limit to the blame lavished upon the clergy and the nobility, the only good words in the poem for any living person¹ being the glorification of the couple to whom the book is dedicated. It might seem as if Gui de Cambrai, in making his patrons the sole and shining exception to this arraignment of the world about him, was a disappointed and embittered man for whom one family constituted the only remaining reliance, or else that he was not wholly indifferent to those material considerations which Josaphat constantly urges us to abandon in order that we may attain to a heavenly recompense. In assuming this, however, it is my judgement that we should be doing the author an injustice, for it is doubtful whether any one of the four passages stood in his text. The longest, and most violently personal, of these digressions (12935-13280) will be discussed further on² and reasons will be given

1. Unless we count as an exception the grudging approval of vavasors (13261-80) which constitutes the bridge between a bitter criticism of contemporaries and the praise accorded to the vavasor and his lady who are chosen as patrons for the book.

2. See *infra*, Chapter IV, pp. 28-30.

for assigning it to a later redactor. Next in length and in personal directness is a passage of sixty-seven lines (4967-5033) condemning the luxury and injustice of kings and barons and suggesting that the writer has particularly in mind the king of France and a person of authority in Vermandois. This passage is present in both manuscripts, but it makes a sharp break in the narrative and is joined on clumsily to the preceding sentence. Appel retains it in his text, but has pointed out that, if lines 4966-5043 be omitted, the text links up smoothly. Such an omission gives the following result :

- 4958 Desci qu'a la Noire Montaigne
 A Baleham trachié et quis ;
 Nel pot trover, chem'est avis.
 En la montaigne dont jou di
 A esgardé, si a choisi
 Trois cens hermites et molt plus
 Ki en la roke la desus
 4965 Menoient vie d'ermitage.
 5044 Li hermite, ki sont salvage,
 S'esmerveillent ki cil estoient
 Ki si griement les porsivoient
 Et apriés iaus s'en vont en queste
 Con li brakés apriés la beste,
 5049 Ki crie quant il l'a trouvee.

Compare with this the *Historia* (p. 189), which has :

Ad crepidinem montis cujusdam pervenit. Super quam stans, videt sub ipso monte cuneum eremitarum ambulantes. Et statim præcepto principis omnes super eos unanimiter irruunt, alius alium cursibus prævenire contententes : et prævenientes circumdederunt eos, quasi canes multi, et bestię quædam feroces et inhumanæ.

With the excision, the French text follows uninterruptedly the sequence of the Latin and corresponds to it as closely as is normal in Gui's translation. The case against the authenticity of the intervening lines does not end here. There is a distinct similarity between the methods employed in this digression

and those visible in the digression (12935-13280) already mentioned. At the conclusion of the latter, in order to get back to the main theme, there is added (13445-84) a paraphrased resumé of the part of the story that precedes the interpolation and deals with Josaphat's life in the desert. This paraphrase begins :

13345 Chil Yosaphas est el desert
Ki Damerdiu aeure et sert.

In like manner, at the close of the earlier digression, a passage (5034-43) sums up what had preceded, employing the following phraseology, in which the second *Aracins* merely repeats the first, to which the *fu* is predicate :

5034 Cist Aracins que je vous di...
5043 Aracins fu el hermitage.

Further, the resemblance in content and other similarities in wording¹ are such that the two digressions can hardly fail to be by the same hand. Thus the attribution to Gui of the present passage is further weakened by the doubtful authenticity of the later passage. A third digression, of forty-three lines (7080-7122), makes against clerks and knights a sweeping accusation of sodomy. The narrative is resumed with a summarizing passage (7123-30) and, just as in the preceding case, the omission of the digression brings together two lines that rime and that make a perfect junction :

7077 Od lui estoit uns biax varlés
Ki avoit non Ganymedés.
7079 Cis estoit maistre sodomites
7130 Et enchanteres et erites.

The remaining digression (32 lines : 11397-428) takes the death of Avenir as text for a call upon the sinful hearers to

1. Compare 4968-69 (Ki hui cest jor tiennent lor contes/De prendre tos les faus loiers) with 13082 (Souvent prendés maint faus loier), and 4997 (Ha, signor ! car vous repentés !) with 12935-36 (Signor ki ceste hystoire oés/Por l'amor Diu vous repentés!).

repent. Nothing in the passage specifically demands its excision, but a compact and adequate narrative remains if it is omitted.

Since the evidence is strong that three of these digressions are later additions, and since the fourth can without difficulty be classed in the same category, it is manifestly unsafe to apply to Gui de Cambrai any generalizations based upon them, and they should not be adduced as an additional indication that Gui's method of approaching his subject was unlike that of the anonymous author.

The stylistic problems of the two writers called for dissimilar types of ability. For the anonymous composer, the most exacting task was to deal in such fashion with grammatical structure and with versification as to preserve close accord with his Latin model and yet to express himself correctly and clearly and in smooth, fluid verse; he was not put to the test of supplying any large measure of independent rhetorical ornament. Gui, on the contrary, feeling free to vary at will from his original, had a far less exacting initial problem, and his technical burden was further lightened by his ready admission of *rimes pauvres* and *rimes équivoques*, regarding which the anonymous author was carefully abstemious; but Gui's responsibility was correspondingly greater for the development of his theme. An analysis of the decorative features of Gui's style is embraced in Appel's Introduction.

It is interesting testimony to the literary initiative of the period that three versifiers who drew their theme from the same text handled it in such varied fashion and created such dissimilar products. This is the more noteworthy because there is no indication that any one of them knew the work of the other, so that the varied method of attack would seem to be spontaneous and not due to an effort to avoid duplication. Each work bears the mark of its author, constituting a signature of larger import than the mere name of the composer, whether, as in one instance, lost, or, as in the other two, preserved.

CHAPTER II

MANUSCRIPTS OF GUI DE CAMBRAI'S *BALAHAM ET JOSAPHAS*

There are three manuscripts containing the Gui de Cambrai version, or fragments of it ¹.

1) PARIS : BNF., 1553, folios 197-253. — 11314 lines. Date : 1285². Dialect of the region of Cambrai. Utilized as the basis of the constituted text by Zotenberg and Meyer³ and by Appel⁴. See *Bibl. Nat. : Cat. des mss. fr.*, Vol. I, Paris, 1868, p. 249. Abbreviation : P.

2) MONTE CASSINO, 329. — 13352 lines. Date : end of thirteenth or beginning of fourteenth century⁵. Dialect of the region of Cambrai. Utilized by Appel, and, for the prologue, by Zotenberg and Meyer. See Z. and M., p. 335; J. A. C. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée*, Paris, 1843, Vol. II, p. 362. Abbreviation of Appel : C. In order to distinguish it from the Carpentras manuscript of the anonymous version, the abbreviation employed in this study is: C^{as}.

3) BRUSSELS, 1215. — Fragmentary: only 585 lines. Date: same general period as the other two manuscripts. Dialect of the region of Cambrai. The text of the fragments is given in an appendix to this study. Abbreviation: Br.

Manuscript 1215 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique is a sixteenth-century translation of the Homilies of Saint John

1. For a reference to a possible fourth manuscript, now lost, see *supra*, p. 1, note 1.

2. Zotenberg and Meyer, *Barlaam und Josaphat*, p. 329; Meyer, *Rom.* 13 (1884), pp. 629-630.

3. *Barlaam und Josaphat*, von Gui de Cambrai. Stuttgart, 1864. [*BL VS.*, Vol. 75.]

4. Gui von Cambrai, *Balaham und Josaphas*. Halle, 1907.

5. Zotenberg and Meyer, p. 335; E. Kuhn, *Barlaam und Joasaph*, Munich, 1893, p. 57; *Bibliotheca casinensis*, Vol. I (1873), p. LXVI.

Chrysostom. A fly-leaf at the beginning and a second at the end consist of the fragments of a vellum manuscript of the *Balaham et Josaphas* of Gui de Cambrai¹.

The manuscript of the fragments is neatly and carefully written in a hand that may readily belong to the thirteenth century, and is absolutely free from erasures or alterations. It originally contained three columns to the page, with forty lines to the column. As it was not over three quarters of the size of the sixteenth-century volume, its sheets had been spread open, turned at right angles, and then cut down to fit. Thus each of the two leaves is composed of one folio plus one column of the attached folio, while three to four lines are gone from the bottom of each column. There is a total of 585 lines preserved, 549 of which deal with the Nachor episode, and the last 36 with the festival to the gods celebrated at the request of Theonas. There are present no lines absent from the Appel edition, and eight lines present in P and C^{as} (6923-24, 7927-28, 8363-66) are omitted. The two pieces of vellum originally formed two successive sheets of one signature, and between them there are missing, according to the numeration of Appel, 966 lines. Since the fragments had exactly 240 lines per folio, or 480 per doubled sheet, there are doubtless four folios gone from the center of the signature, and this indicates that Br lacked, between 6945 and 7910, six of the lines present in the Appel edition. The other gaps between the preserved passages tally exactly with the Appel count. Thus for a section of the poem extending from 6465 thru 8392, embracing nearly two thousand lines, there is a close conformity with the number of lines in the other manuscripts.

A similar conformity shows itself in the readings. The textual variants of Br from the other two manuscripts are of

1. For a description of the Homilies manuscript and a mention of the fly-leaves containing "des fragments de l'histoire de Barlaam et Josaphat en vieux-français," see Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, Brussels, 1902, Vol. II, pp. 219-21.

the same minor character as those between P and C^{as}. Br is no farther removed from P or from C^{as} than these are from each other. Where P and C^{as} differ, Br, in about two thirds of the instances, accords with C^{as}, but there is no clear case of agreement in error, and so no testimony that Br and C^{as} form a family. The three manuscripts are all near to a common prototype, and this prototype may perfectly well have been the original poem.

In the use of large initial capital letters, Br is the most conservative of the manuscripts. Of the fourteen common to P and C^{as}, Br has eight. P has two additional capitals (8121, 8143), and neither of these appears in Br, which here again shows closer conformity to C^{as} than to P.

The spellings in Br show no extensive divergence from type. Almost all the forms given in the Appel edition appear, and few new ones are added. The most noticeable differences are: the greater frequency of *ie* for checked open *e*, which is found even in light-stressed syllables (*siervir* 6630, *siermone* 8124, *l'iermitage* 8166, *hiermite* 8172); the lesser frequency of *ch* for *c* in *merci*, *fiance*, etc.; the occasional appearance of an off-glide *i* (*boin*, *boine* 6647, 7943, 8125, 8380; *euist*, *deuist* 6708, 6710, 7966, 8067); the representation of Latin -ORIA in learned words by -orie (*glorie* 8050, *victorie* 7997, 8000, 8049). Dissyllabic *iié* is written as a rule with one *i*, but the fuller writing occurs sporadically (*crestiien* 6616, *moniier* 7965). The name *Josaphas* (7933, 8159) occurs only in the nominative; *Balahans* (7942) appears also in the oblique, *Balahan* (6912).

There is no reason to hesitate in assigning Br to the same general territory as the original poem and the other two manuscripts. P, C^{as}, and Br are today located at widely separated geographical points, and yet they all offer linguistic traits characteristic of the author's locality, and, outside of condensation by omissions from time to time, in no one of them have there been introduced any substantial variations, if we leave out of account certain modifications at the be-

ginning and at the end of P and C^{as}, for which an explanation will be proposed later on ¹.

Unless it is only the result of chance that all the manuscripts which have come down to us show this concordance, it is reasonable to infer from it that the work is one in which the editions were largely or exclusively limited to those issued at Cambrai or in its locality. Br is so fragmentary that it furnishes no evidence regarding the termination of the work, but there is evidence ² that the other two manuscripts were copied from a model that stopped short at line 13390. Now since P and C^{as} seem to have been executed in or near the home of the author, they were prepared at a place where conditions were the most favorable for obtaining access to a complete text, if such a text existed. It is therefore not improbable that Gui de Cambrai, on account of his death or for some other cause, failed to carry his work thru to completion. But whether the poem was never completed, or whether the one manuscript that remained accessible had lost thru an accident the part following line 13390, it may well be the truncated character of the Gui de Cambrai version which accounts for the absence of any trace of other than local editions. Either Gui's experiment of interweaving with his theme classical allusion and epic paraphernalia ³ would seem to have met with no wide response, or else something may have occurred which impeded the normal circulation of his book. If the poem broke off without carrying Josaphat's life to a conclusion, its incomplete state may have been the occasion of a lack of appeal.

1. See *infra*, Chapters IV and VII.

2. See *infra*, Chapter IV.

3. See *supra*, Chapter I, pp. 5-6.

CHAPTER III

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ANONYMOUS

BARLAAM ET JOSAPHAT

Three manuscripts preserve the anonymous version¹ of *Barlaam et Josaphat*, or portions of it, and certain lines of the Monte Cassino manuscript of Gui de Cambrai contain a section of a lost redaction of the anonymous version. In addition, two manuscripts exist of a prose reworking.

1) BESANÇON, 552. — 28 folios or fragments of folios, 160 by 116 mm. One column to the page and 20 lines to the column: in all, 796 complete lines and 227 more or less mutilated lines. Vellum. Neat, clear handwriting. The large initials are red with green lines, or green with red lines. Date: thirteenth century. See *Cat. gén. des bib. pub. : Départements*, Vol. 32: *Besançon*, par A. Castan, Vol. I (1897), pp. 319-20. Abbreviation: B.

These fragments are made up of twelve complete folios and of the residue of sixteen other folios which, after the sheets had been opened up, have been sliced or trimmed, sometimes vertically and sometimes horizontally. The fragments belong to five signatures, which in their original form were each of eight folios. The text begins at the point where Josaphat had taken over from his father Avenir a part of the kingdom (= T, fo. 65). The larger part of the first signature is preserved. After a gap of one signature there comes a considerable part

1. This version, for which only two manuscripts were listed by Zotenberg and Meyer and by Kuhn, has frequently been called the Tours-Carpentras version, but since there exist substantial fragments of a third manuscript closer in many respects to the original and essential for establishing the text, and since we have seen (*supra*, p. 3) that the author's preservation of anonymity is probably characteristic, the name "anonymous version" is preferable. For convenience of reference, the anonymous version will be from time to time referred to as B&J.

of two signatures. Then, after a gap of two signatures, there follow some part of every folio of the next signature, and the first and last folios of the succeeding signature. The text ends where Josaphat has joined Barlaam at the hermitage (= T, fo. 81). The manuscript probably contained only the Barlaam and Josaphat and must originally have consisted of over 300 folios. The condition of the fragments indicates that it had been cut up to serve as backing for other manuscripts.

2) CARPENTRAS, 473. — Collection of religious works in prose and verse. 203 folios¹. Folios 139-201 contain the Barlaam and Josaphat. Originally this section was part of another manuscript, at some subsequent period bound in at the end of the collection. 63 folios, 283 by 212 mm. Two columns to the page and usually 40 lines to the column. The minimum number of lines per column is 34; the maximum is 45. In all, 10106 lines. Vellum. The ink has faded, and the latter part of the text is much damaged by dampness and worms. The handwriting is good and, where undamaged, is easy to read. The large initials are red with blue lines, except one, which is blue. The small initials are without color. Date: thirteenth century². See *Cat. gén. des bib. pub.: Départements*, Vol. 34: *Carpentras*, par Duhamel, Vol. 1 (1901), pp. 262-63. Abbreviation: C (or, where useful to prevent confusion with the Monte Cassino manuscript of Gui de Cambrai: C^{ar}).

In the rebinding, the last signature was transferred to the beginning and the order of its sheets was altered. By comparing the Tours text it is possible to approximate the original form of the B&J manuscript. The signatures were as follows:

1. — Eight folios (lost).
2. — Eight folios (149-156).
3. — Eight folios (157-164).

1. There are a 27^{bis} and a 67^{bis}, so that the numbering runs thru 201 only.

2. Duhamel, *Catalogue*, p. 263. Zotenberg and Meyer, *o.c.*, p. 336, give the first half of the fourteenth century, but they had not seen the manuscript.

4. — Eight folios (165-172).
5. — Eight folios (173-180).
6. — Eight folios (181-188).
7. — Eight folios (189-196).
8. — Eight folios (197-201; first folio and last two folios lost).

9. — Twelve folios (139-148; first and last folios lost).

The proper order within the ninth signature is fo. 139, 140, 143, 144, 142, 145, 146, 144, 147, 148. Thus the 63 folios that remain formed part of a manuscript in which the B&J was composed of 76 folios and was of approximately the same length as T.

3) TOURS, 949. — 84 folios, 315 by 225 mm. Two columns to the page and 36 lines to the column: in all, 12074 lines. Velum. The manuscript is well preserved and the writing is distinct and in a good hand. The large initials are in blue and red, and the small initials have a single red stroke. Date: end of thirteenth century¹. This is the only manuscript of the metric-al version of the Anonymous B&J which is preserved in unmutilated condition. See *Cat. gén. des bib. pub.: Départements*, Vol. 37: *Tours*, par G. Collon (1900-05), pp. 687-88. Abbreviation: T.

This manuscript passed into the Tours collection from the Benedictine monastery of Marmoutier, which was suppressed at the time of the Revolution. The manuscript was acquired by the monastery when the library of the Connétable de Lesdiguières (1543-1626) was put on sale at Toulouse in 1716. In the inventory of that library, dated 1633, it figured as N° 18: "Le Roman de Barlaam et Josaphat en vieux françoys²." Thus in the early seventeenth century it belonged to a private library in Dauphiny.

1. Zotenberg and Meyer, *o. c.*, p. 335. Collon, *Catalogue*, gives the fourteenth century as the date.

2. J. Roman, "Inventaire des manuscrits du Connétable de Lesdiguières," *Le Cabinet historique*, Vol. 23 (1877), pp. 49-53; P. Meyer, "Les manuscrits du Connétable de Lesdiguières," *Rom.*, Vol. 12 (1883), pp. 336-42.

4) The MONTE CASSINO manuscript of Gui de Cambrai offers a termination for the Barlaam and Josaphat borrowed from the anonymous version. This termination has been incorporated by Appel in his edition, where it constitutes lines 13391-13482. The passage will later be discussed in detail¹.

5) PARIS: BNf., 423. — Collection of religious works in prose and verse. 144 folios. Folios 6-20 contain the prose redaction of the Anonymous B&J. 15 folios, 335 by 240 mm.; except folio 7, which is 265 by 195 mm. Two columns to the page and 52 or 53 lines to the column; except folio 7, which has one column to the page with 40 lines (7^{ro}) and 35 lines (7^{vo}). Vellum. There are two handwritings: the first, which extends thru folio 7, is quite regular and legible; the second, from folio 8 to the end, is less so. The large initials are in red. Date: fourteenth century. See *Bibl. Nat.: Cat. des mss. fr.*, Vol. I, Paris, 1868, pp. 41-42. Abbreviation: Pr₁.

6) LYONS, 867. — Collection of saints' lives in prose. 280 folios. Folios 226-278 contain the prose redaction of the Anonymous B&J. 53 folios, 295 by 202 mm. Two columns to the page and 30 lines to the column. Vellum. Handwriting legible and fairly good. Large initials in color, marginal vignettes, and three miniatures. Date: second half of thirteenth century. See *Cat. gén. des bib. pub.: Départements*, Vol. 30: *Lyon*, par A. Molinier et F. Desvernay, Vol. 1 (1900), p. 235; P. Meyer, *BSATFr.*, Vol. 11 (1885), pp. 40-80. Abbreviation: Pr₂.

A comparison of the 1023 lines of the poem preserved in B with the corresponding sections of C and T shows that the manuscripts offer texts of varying fulness. C omits sixteen passages of from two to twelve lines (total: 64 lines) and T omits six passages of from two to sixteen lines (total: 54 lines), all of which appear to have been in the common source of the

1. See *infra*, Chapters VII and VIII.

three manuscripts, and a majority of which are definitely assured by the Latin. B lacks two passages (total: 6 lines) present in C and T, where they seem to be an interpolation. On the other hand, B has one passage (26 lines) not present elsewhere and seemingly interpolated¹. On the whole, B, for which this comparison reveals no excisions and only one addition, seems quite faithful to his source. C and T derive their pair of interpolations from an antecedent manuscript, but C and T, acting independently, make a number of excisions.

Manuscript B is in all respects the closest to the original. Excisions and additions seem to be rare; the readings are correct against the combined testimony of C and T in a large majority of the cases where the original form can be determined²; and the orthographical accord with the forms supported by the rimes is closer than in the other manuscripts.

Manuscripts C and T abound in common errors and go back to a redaction (Y) which was already substantially removed from the original. To judge from the section which we can control by means of B, there is little difference in the value of C and T for establishing the text of Y³. As regards the relation of B and Y, a passage in the BCT section⁴ furnishes solid evidence that they go back to a redaction (X) which had already introduced alterations.

The passage in the Monte Cassino manuscript which is borrowed from the Anonymous B&J furnishes indications, even in the brief section which it includes, that it is based on a redaction which had traits of the original absent from Y⁵. We

1. The above enumeration includes all cases save one, in a passage which would simply add to the number of instances where C and T make excisions, but which would require a detailed discussion out of place till the text of the Anonymous B&J is available.

2. With the aid furnished by the Latin this is frequently possible.

3. For the longest sections of the text, Y is as close to the original as we can hope to come, and for more than one sixth of the lines we have no manuscript except T.

4. T, fo. 65, col. 4, lines 27ff.: a narrative passage, for which we have the testimony of B, C, T, and the Latin. The beginning of this passage is reproduced in the fac similes given Pl. I, II, and III.

5. So particularly in the lines corresponding to T 83.4.11-14; dis-

have no way of testing its value in comparison with B.

The two prose manuscripts show a close relation. The variations in wording between them are relatively few in number and are unimportant¹. A comparison with the metrical version indicates that the manuscripts go back to a prose prototype from which neither is far removed and from which now one, now the other shows minor deviations. In the cases of elimination or condensation of material found in the metrical version, the shortening is common to Pr₁ and Pr₂, with a single, but notable, exception. Pr₁ omits the whole of the debate between Nascor and the pagans. It is present in Pr₂, where the passage occupies 18 1/2 of the 53 folios which compose the text; thus the excision in Pr₁ amounts to over one third of the entire work. As the sections which thereby become contiguous in Pr₁ constitute a smooth sequence, the reduction is seemingly not due to an accident but to an intentional abbreviation².

With this exception, the chief differences between the prose manuscripts are to be found in the spellings. Pr₂ has clearly marked Northern characteristics, largely identical with those present in the manuscripts of Gui de Cambrai³. Pr₁ in the main shows the forms of the Center, with some forms that point toward the East⁴.

The prose redaction has been built upon the verse with about the ordinary amount of care. As a rule, sufficient alterations have been introduced to eliminate one of the two rime words of each couplet, and, if not a few of the rimes have survived this

cussed in detail, *infra*, Chapter VIII. There is one probable case of a common error in Y and C^{as} (T 83.4.25-26).

1. Specimens of the text of Pr₁ with the variant readings of Pr₂ will be found *infra*, Chapter VIII.

2. The omission from Pr₁ occurs in folio 14.4, and comprises Pr₂, folios 249.4 to 263.2.

3. Paul Meyer, BSATFr., Vol. 11, p. 40, locates the manuscript containing Pr₂ as belonging to the region of Picardy or Vermandois.

4. Especially an occasional *-ont* for *-ent* in the plural of the present and the preterit (*manjuont*, *ociont*, *preschont*; *furont*, *oront*, *troveront*, etc.), and a not infrequent *i* for *ie* (*tint*, *vint*, as present tenses; *tinent*, *vinent*, *vigne*, *sovine*; *bin*).

de-riming process, they are rarely in proximity in sufficient number to strike the attention of a casual reader. The maximum deviation from this norm is in a passage (Pr., 252.4) representing twelve couplets and retaining seven of the rime pairs.

The correspondence of the prose redaction to the metrical version is so clear and so nearly constant that we are not predisposed to attribute to contamination the sporadic cases which occur of the presence in Pr of some element of the *Historia* absent from the metrical version. It is quite possible that these concordances indicate merely that the manuscript of the metrical version which was utilized by Pr was closer to the original version, and hence to the *Historia*, than are the existing manuscripts. In one instance¹, we have definite evidence that such was the case, and there are indications in the sections of the text preserved by B that the nearer we can approach to the original readings, the more completely do they supply all the elements present in Pr. It is true that available sources for contamination should not have been difficult of access. If it seems inherently improbable that a prose adapter of the French poem interrupted his use of his model at certain rare intervals in order to check it up upon a Latin text, it might seem less surprising that he should thus utilize that French prose version of the *Historia* which was translated directly from the Latin and which is even today preserved in numerous manuscripts. But this also seems not to have been the case. The termination in Pr is the passage for which the strongest argument could be offered that the material drawn from the metrical French version has been supplemented from some other source, and this termination is manifestly not in any way connected with the prose translation based upon the *Historia*².

3 The prose redaction shows sufficient conformity to the word-

1. See *infra*, Chapter VIII, Division II, pp. 61-62.

2. See *infra*, Chapter VIII, Division VI, p. 81, n. 2.

ing of the metrical version to be of aid in the constitution of the text of the poem. In the BCT section it confirms the estimate of the relative value of the readings in the three manuscripts: where B and Y differ, it usually confirms B; where C and T differ, it confirms now the one and now the other. It is not derived from the Y branch nor from B.

Al enu al ellanement.
 Del non au pte omnipotent.
 E a fait for chescune tor.
 Qui fu le nunt uent tot antor.
 Le signe de la croiz s'ichier.
 Puis fuit les temples rebuchier.
 Otes quen terre to; lessont.
 Fances apes bien parfont.
 Les fondementz tres toz desfont.
 E les distant out de cele out.
 Qui aual des de nen ataigne.
 Ne uient que point enuermaigne.
 Il elabir anmi la uille.
 Une eglise grant e nobile.
 En lano: deu le saluer.
 Meus alotez regerignz.
 Ne l'ouuer pas de celi quere.
 An nul pas ne nulle terre.
 Jmeus puis tot son pueple mende.
 E silz pte e comande.
 A la uiegnent deu aort.
 E anliu aort e anoret.
 E il pas el doner esample.
 En mi legiste qui est ample.
 Doutra aorison semer.
 E ilz lessont nist annermet.
 Por prouer e amonester.
 Que chaelles laissent ester.
 La exement de sel ymagis.
 A gnt deus est e grant donager.
 Que il en font si engignie.
 Puis los adit e ansignie.
 Con damedpe entere iunt.
 E com uns om moxer deult.
 A naissance la pussion.
 A mox la resurrecion.

E com puis uot el nel monter.
 E q nnt douent nist doter.
 Le dancien ior del ior.
 Ou il uendra a une guise.
 Espoutable e nist astringe.
 Qui trestablent restur hagle.
 Cil qui la erent de pior.
 E receuont li pecheor.
 Funt pume q ont destruit.
 Li iuste pardurable uie.
 par des paroles amichel.
 Ales gentz de mal rapel.
 Car aor qui les sermonet.
 nest destrumot pas ne menot.
 par leignone e par cremor.
 Nul par rason e par amor.
CE quil est ombles e debonaire.
 Les li seldit nist meus ariere.
 A complir la uolente.
 Qui ne feist par poete.
 Ensi en poi de tens oua.
 Que tot son pueple recoura.
 Qui par error erent pdu.
 E les a toz a deu rendu.
 Et fuit des plus ne sacient.
 Auz les laissent toz e uient.
 Une la chose fu queneue.
 E cil lorent aproue.
 Qui el fosses repost estoient.
 Por son pere q nist doient.
 Al nouel roi font nre uenu.
 E a grant iore receu.
 Quelque ior de dau signe.
 E lete e preuente ordene.
 Et nist festoient aardie.
 E auoient del tot l'istie.

CHAPTER IV

GUI DE CAMBRAI'S PROLOGUE AND EPILOGUE

The discrepancies between the manuscripts at the beginning and at the ending of Gui de Cambrai's Barlaam and Josaphat were discussed by Appel in his Introduction, with the decision that all the supplementary material offered by C^{as} is to be attributed to Gui. It is the aim of this chapter to reweigh the evidence in the light of additional data.

The Paris manuscript has no prologue, and begins at a point corresponding to line 73 of the Monte Cassino manuscript. Near the end, and interrupting the story, P has a long digression (13281-334) into which is inserted a detailed dedication. The ten concluding lines of the digression serve to link the dedication and the digression to the following portion of the narrative.

The Monte Cassino manuscript has a 72-line prologue, including (30-34) a brief and parenthetical dedication. Near the end of the manuscript we find the digression already noted for P, but with no dedication included. Of the ten concluding lines of this passage, C^{as} preserves the last three (13342-44), with an extra line as a rime-filler. In P, these three lines are in keeping with their location near the end, but have a defective rime for the proper name¹: *Signor car entendés cest conte/Et a l'ystoire ki ja faut/D'Avenir et de Yozaphat*. In C^{as}, the wording points toward their originally having been located in a prologue, and the rime is satisfactory: *Signor car entendés al conte/Et as bons hor que je a conte/Et a l'ystoire que jo fas/D'Avenir et de Yozaphas*.

Following the digression, P (13345-78) and C^{as} (13345-84) have what at first sight appears to be a resumption of the

1. See Appel, p. x.

narrative. When more closely examined, this passage shows itself to be merely a paraphrase of the lines (12899-934; see also 12849-56) which immediately precede the digression¹.

Thereafter (13385 ff.), P terminates abruptly with 21 lines, which recount that neighboring hermits came to offer Josaphat consolation for the death of Barlaam — an episode wholly foreign to the Latin prototype. C^{as} (13385-90) begins this same episode, but cuts it short and resumes the thread of the Latin narrative where it was broken at 12934, carrying the story to its proper conclusion in 92 more lines (13391-482). A comparison of this passage with the corresponding portion of the Anonymous B&J reveals an identity of theme and, in fully one half of the lines, an identity even of wording. There can be no doubt that there was borrowing, and there is conclusive evidence² that this common termination is an integral part of the Anonymous B&J.

P and C^{as} (and Br as well) were written in the language of Cambrai or its region, and show, in the portions which they have in common, few substantial textual variations³. Thus such intermediate manuscripts as may have existed between them and the original were probably also of the same locality.

From the above data the following deductions can be drawn:

1) We have nothing to prove that Gui de Cambrai completed his Barlaam and Josaphat, and there is some ground for thinking that he did not do so⁴. At any rate, the truncated form seems to have arisen in Cambrai or near by.

2) P and C^{as} belong to the same family of manuscripts, for they are derived from a source in which there has been an effort, characterized by certain features preserved in both P

1. For 13,346, see 12,920 and 12,934; for 347-48, see 927-29; for 351, see 924; for 355-56, see 909-10; for 357-58, see 911; for 359, see 919; for 360, see 914; for 361, see 927; for 362, see 909; for 363-69, see 899 and 906-07; for 370-76, see 855-56; for 377-78, see 906-08; for 379-384 (the part occurring only in C^{as}), see 899-908.

2. See *infra*, Chapter VII.

3. See *supra*, Chapter II.

4. See *supra*, Chapter II, p. 14.

and C^{as}, to mask¹ the incompleteness of the Cambrai version². Thus there existed a redaction which was their common source, and which we shall term *PC.

3) The fuller form of the dedication, now found toward the end and only in P, was doubtless in the poem of Gui de Cambrai, for the author would have more interest than a redactor in expatiating upon the virtues of the patrons of the work.

4) This fuller form stood, not at the end, but at the beginning, as part of the prologue. The trace of its earlier position is preserved in C^{as}, which lacks the dedication but retains the last three lines (13342-44) of the transition passage following it, and which failed to alter the wording to accord with the later location. While P does furnish a wording for these lines which conforms to their location, the doubly questionable rime betrays that we are dealing with an altered reading. The wording of P 13317-19, in a similar effort for consistency, doubtless also underwent alteration, traces of which remain in the obscurity of the passage as it now stands³.

Granting that the sole dedication was originally located in the prologue, the question arises whether the five lines (30-34) of dedication occurring in C^{as}, where they constitute a clumsy digression, were a substitute introduced when the transfer of the dedication to the end was effected, or whether they were carved out from the original dedication. The latter is the natural inference : they contain elements suited to introduce the dedication, since they present the names of the two patrons who are thereafter to be successively described. It is quite pos-

1. The phrase in P, *l'ystoire qui ja faut*, may mean 'the history which here breaks off' and so may be an open avowal of the lacuna, or the *faut* may simply mean 'ends'.

2. By "Cambrai version" I mean the truncated form, the question being left open whether it was the original poem.

3. *Por lui, por li ai l'oeuvre emprise, / Qui molt est pres de la fin mise. / La renommee n'ert jamais.* The interpretation of 13319 which Appel proposes in a note ("Der Ruhm des Werkes wird nimmer zu Ende gehen") would render the passage reasonably clear only if it were possible to insert the pronoun *le* before *ert* and read *ne l'ert ja mais*. The meter would permit this could *ja* be omitted, but *ja* is needed.

sible to recognize the elements which made up the opening of the poem. First came the general prologue, 1-29. Then followed the dedication, composed of 30, 32, 33¹, and of 13292-306, 13313-34². Next came four lines which bridged over from the dedication to the resumption of the prologue at line 37. Three of these lines are preserved in C^{as}, 13342-44; the fourth, 13342a, was altered by C^{as} to make it correspond with its new surroundings. P eliminated 13442a, introducing in its place 13341, and unskillfully altering 13342-44 to make the statement accord with its location near the close of the poem. Line 13342a, in its original form, was probably a relative clause descriptive of *conte*, while the wording of 13318-19, before it was altered, probably served to introduce the idea that the renown of the couple would be preserved for all time. .

Thus the dedication may have been about as follows³:

- 30 *Por Gillon, qui est de Marcais,*
 32 *Et sa feme qu'a non Marie*
 33 *Est ceste estoire commencie.*
 13292 *S'onnours, ses sens, sa compaignie*
 Fait a proisier et a loër.
 N'i voel pas longhes demorer,
 13295 *Que jou ne samble losengier,*
 Mais je ne sai nul chevalier
 Ki si bien sache [s']jounor faire,
 Ne cui donner ne cui retraire,
 Ne plus loiaus soit a signor.
 13300 *De tant l'ai jou gaitié maint jor,*
 C'ainc ne l'oï .i. jour mesdire
 K'il ne desist: "Preus est mes sire."

1. Omit 31 and 34, with their duplicated rimes.

2. Omit 13281-91 and 13335-41, bridges between the dedication and the passage into which it was later inserted. Line 13288: *Tant com il en cest siecle fu* indicates that Gilles was dead when this line was written, and so betrays the later hand; see 13321, which belongs to the real dedication and which states that Gilles is living. For the omission of 13307-12, see *infra*, pp. 29-30.

3. Italics are used to direct attention to readings which do not correspond to either P or C^{as}. For a discussion of the prologue preceding the dedication, see *infra*, Chapter VI.

- En maint liu l'a rescous souvent,
 Car on parole laidement
 Et des contes et des barons
 13306 (S'ill'ont forfait, c'est bien raisons).
 13313 Il est assez de haut linage.
 La dame rest et preus et sage
 Et sans orgueil et desmesure:
 En li ne me[n]t pas noureture.
 13317 Por lui, por li ai l'uevre emprise.
 13318
 13319
 13320 Mesire Gilles de Markais
 En ert apriés sa mort nommés
 Tant com durra crestiientés,
 Et sa femme, cele Marie
 Ki par bonne evre se marie
 13325 A Damerdiu, nostre signor.
 Cil en priënt le creator
 Ki ceste hystoire oïr vorront
 Et tout cil ki l'escouteront
 Que de lor ames ait merchi
 13330 Cil ki en crois por nous pendi,
 Et de chelui ki le trouva,
 Ki le trata et ki l'ouvra,
 Et si nous doinst tous bonne vie
 13334 Et nous meche en sa compaignie!
 13342 Signor, car entendés al conte
 13342a
 13343 Et a l'ystoire que jo fas
 13344 D'Avenir et de Yozaphas.
 37 Jadis, *etc.*

5) In an effort to piece out the truncated ending, *PC transferred the dedication from the prologue to the latter part of the manuscript, retaining, however, in the prologue the first three lines with their mention of Gilles and Marie, whose names also appear in the section which *PC displaced.

6) P and C^{as} both remarked this seemingly two-fold dedication, and eliminated the repetition, P by cutting out the whole prologue, C^{as} by cutting out the second dedication.

In the course of the preceding discussion, we have seen that all the lines in Appel's edition following 13280 should be removed from Gui de Cambrai's text. Is this also the case for the digression (12935-13280) which precedes? This digression is a homily on the degeneracy of contemporary society, including the church and all its members, with specific mention of the pope (12935) and of the monks of Clairvaux (12984). At the close (13261-80), a half-hearted dispensation from this sweeping blame is accorded to the vavasors.

There is nothing to show that this homily ever stood in any other location, and there is a reference to Josaphat (12940) of a kind which indicates that when the passage was composed the story had already been told. Whoever it was that wrote this passage, we may presume that it stands where it has stood since its first insertion. The transition passage (13281-91) between the homily and the dedication explains that the vavasors, who have just been discussed, were cited on account of the vavasor to whom the work is dedicated; and, in fact, after the exclusion of the dedication from this part of the work, little remains that would justify the writer's selection of the vavasors as the one group to whom he does not desire his condemnation to apply. Faint indeed is the praise which he accords to them: they are not as bad as the barons; they are fair-spoken and well attired; and, if they prey upon the poor, you must not blame them, for they have to find some source of revenue! These are hardly the reflections to be expected of an author who is dedicating his book to a vavasor.

The violence of the attack upon all prelates, the pope included, is worthy of remark. There is nothing novel in a thirteenth-century complaint against the pope, even if came from a cleric, as Gui possibly was. The clergy repeatedly invoked the king against the barons, the pope against the king, and the king against the pope, claiming to be victims of the exactions of all three. Still Gui was composing a work of piety signed with his name, and wrote in the first half of the century, when Innocent III and his successors commanded a moral

prestige and a religious authority far greater than, in the second half, the papacy possessed. While it may not be impossible that Gui should introduce into his work this brutal invective, it is more natural to attribute it to a later, and an anonymous, scribe¹.

These reasons are in themselves sufficient to cause us to doubt whether this final digression should be attributed to the author. We have already noted² that attacks on contemporary society are found in this and three other passages distributed thru the poem, that they bear marks of being by the same hand, and that two of the other three show traces of being interpolations. The evidence against them is strong enough to justify the elimination of all four from the original, so that Gui seems to have written a work in which the only allusions to individuals of his own times were to the Marquais family and to Jean, dean of Arras (6207-14), thru whom he obtained access to the text of the *Historia*.

The Cambrai version, with its absence of medieval allusion, with its dedication wholly in the prologue, and with its sudden cessation at line 12934, fell into the hands of a writer, the redactor of *PC, who utilized it as the *porte-parole* of a number of vigorous personal opinions. The knights, the barons, the clerics, the bishops and archbishops, and the pope are passed in review and are called upon to repent of their falsehood, oppression, extortion, simony, of their luxury, sodomy, and indifference to the crusades. Pilate has his representative in Vermandois, and Herod³ has no need to go begging so long

1. It should be noted that the inclusion (12983-90) of the clerks in this diatribe differentiates it from the stock attacks of the clergy upon pope, king, and barons, and stamps it as the sermon of a stern and pessimistic preacher rather than as an ex-parte accusation.

2. See *supra*, Chapter I, pp. 6-9.

3. The allusion to Herod and Pilate (4997-5033) seems to be a thinly veiled reference to discontent of the writer or of the community with the royal administration and its local representative, the *bailli* of Vermandois. (Vermandois had been erected into a *bailliage* in the early thirteenth century, shortly after its annexation to France.) If so, the *baillie* occurring in line 5024 was introduced as a further hint. On the relations of the *bailli* with the population of Vermandois, see Waquet,

as the king sits on his throne in Paris. This bitter moralist finds none who merit approval, and his sole embarrassment lies in reconciling this wholesale condemnation with the eulogy, which he found embodied in the poem, of the vavasor Gilles de Marquais. He extricates himself from the difficulty as best he can by damning the vavasors with faint praise and — if my attribution to him of lines 13307-12 is correct — by detracting from the laudatory description which Gui had given of Gilles.

There is but one clue to the personality of this outspoken censor, and that clue is slight. He speaks disparagingly of the monks of Clairvaux, but in a phraseology which by the introduction of the *nes*, shows that he expects more of them than of others (12984-86):

Nes en l'ordene de Clerevaus
Netrovroit on ja mais .i. moigne
Ki voir disans fust sans mençoigne.

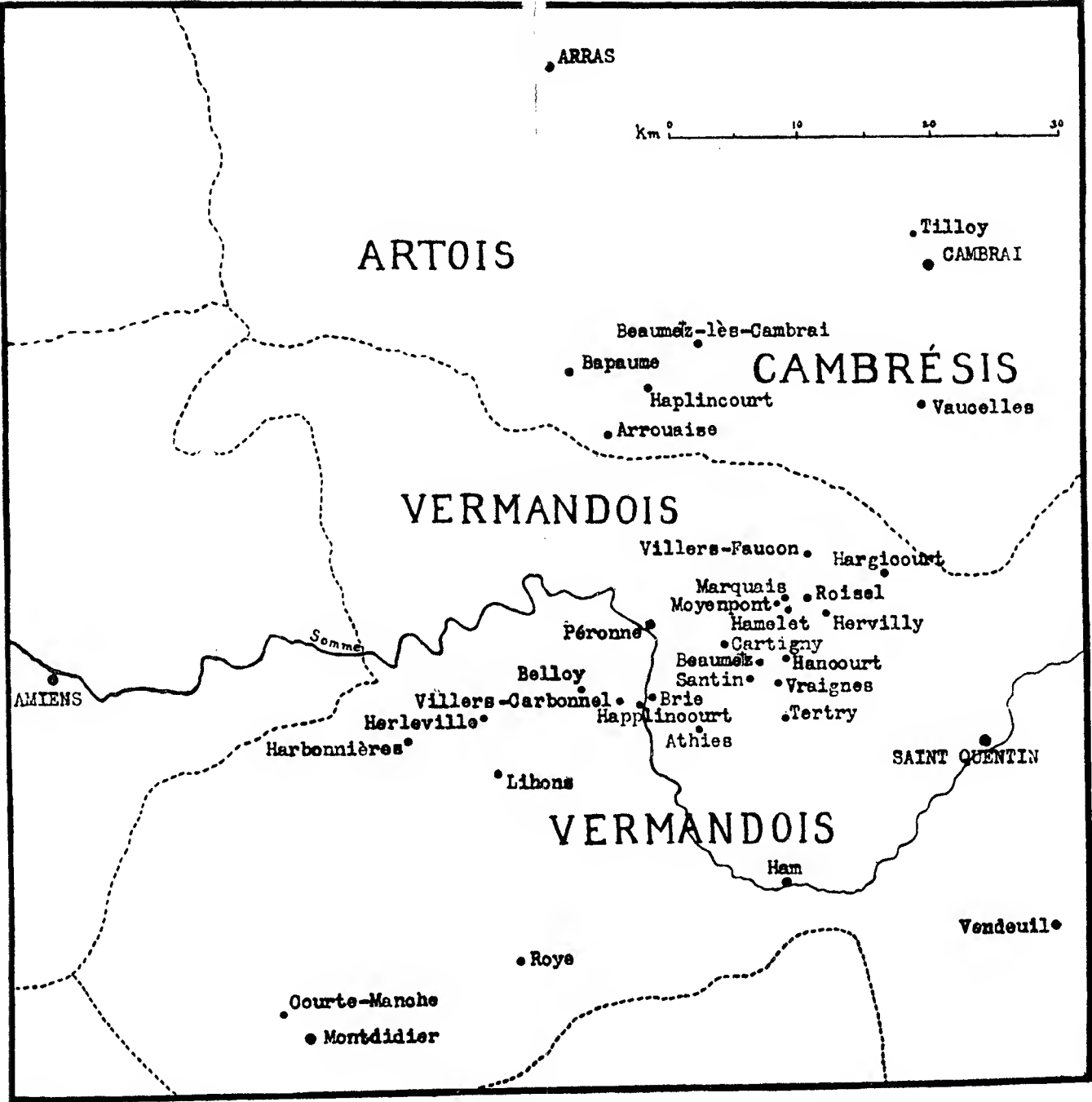
From this we might suspect that he himself was a Cistercian, possibly located at the Cistercian monastery of Vaucelles, which was situated in Cambrésis, between Cambrai and the border of Vermandois¹, and that, amid the thirteenth-century relaxation of the Cistercian order, he continued to be a

Le bailliage de Vermandois aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, Paris, 1919 [BEHE., 213], Chapter VII.

1. For the reasons which lead us to think that all the redactions of the Cambrai Barlaam and Josaphat were prepared in the Cambrai region, see *supra*, Chapter II. It may further be noted that the redactor of *PC was familiar with the Marquais family, for it is only in his addition and not in the true dedication that they are specified as vavasors. If the scribe of C^{as} had a similar familiarity with the family, a deferential attitude toward them may have constituted an additional reason for his elimination of the second dedication. As he found it in *PC, it was derogatory rather than a tribute to the Marquais, who seem to have during several centuries constituted a family of the local nobility well known in the region; see U. Berlière, *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. 44 (1894), p. 170. Berlière associates the family name with Marquay (Pas-de-Calais, canton de Saint-Pol) and not with Marquaix (Somme, canton de Roisel). On the validity of this identification, at least in so far as it might concern the Gilles de Marquais designated by Gui de Cambrai, see *infra*, Chapter V.

Regarding a probable contact of Adam le Bossu with Vaucelles, see E. Langlois, *Le Jeu de la Feuillée*, Paris, 1914, p. 14.

convinced devotee of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. While this is at best only a vague conjecture, we can with confidence assert of the redactor of *PC that he was a man of different mold from the original author: that to the classical allusions and the knightly feats of arms which Gui had woven into the sober *Historia* he added a type of ornament which, if more in the spirit of the Latin text, was likely to be less alluring to the audience whom Gui seems particularly to have addressed.



Pl. IV.

CHAPTER V

GILLES DE MARQUAIS

In the portion of the text of the Barlaam and Josaphat which was due to the hand of Gui de Cambrai, only three contemporary names appear : John dean of Arras, Gilles de Marquais, and Marie, the wife of Gilles. The names of Gilles de Marquais and his wife Marie are furnished by the dedication¹, where Marie figures as a pious woman and one who had presumably shown liberality to the Church. The claim made for Gilles that his name would endure so long as christianity lasts seems out of keeping with the characterization which accompanies it. Gui designates him as a knight, and the redactor of *PC adds that he was a vavasor. His one trait that is stressed is his loyalty to his overlord. Gui is acquainted with no knight who knows so well how to act in accord with his honor ; Gui has closely observed him over a long period and has never heard him express a harsh judgment of any one without adding : " My suzerain is all that he should be. " Many are the times that Gilles has defended his *seigneur*, for evil words are spoken concerning counts and high lords (and quite properly, in the instances where they are evil-doers). Since this is all that Gui de Cambrai alleges in support of his sweeping claim for Gilles of ever lasting glory, it would seem that either the author found himself hard put to it when he came to specify the details, or else that there existed some fact which linked Gilles' name to an enduring monument and which was sufficiently familiar to the auditors not to require mention. In any event, there is no item given which would serve to differentiate Gilles from many of his contemporaries among the lesser nobility.

1. See *supra*, Chapter iv.

Is it possible, from the information furnished by the dedication, to identify Gilles and Marie? First of all, we need to locate the Marquais from which the patrons of the poem took their name. There is a Marquay in the Pas-de-Calais, canton de Saint-Pol, and it is with this Marquay that Berlière, without giving the ground for the identification, links the Marquais family which, in the sixteenth century, was well known in Arras and elsewhere in the North¹. There is also a Marchais in Laonnais, east of Laon. But we can hardly fail to locate our knight rather at Marquaix in Vermandois, 2 km from Roisel, on the border of Cambrésis; near to Cambrai, nearer still to Vaucelles.

On turning to the records, we find that this localization is adequately substantiated. The earliest reference which I find to a seigneur of Marquais in Vermandois is in 1174, when Mathieu, seigneur of Marquais, acted as witness to a deed drawn by Ives, Count of Soissons, in favor of the monastery of Longpont². An edict of Alexander III, dated June 17, 1180, gives papal confirmation to the possessions of the monastery of Mont-Saint-Quentin, and includes in this confirmation a donation to the monastery by Raboldus de Marchais which consists of a property near Taiencort in the district of Bocli; it is added that the sons and daughters of Raboldus, on the day of his burial, solemnly confirmed the gift³. Tincourt and Boucly are contiguous villages located 2 km from Marquaix in Vermandois. It seems probable that this Raboldus was the seigneur of the domain of Marquais, but he is not so designated specifically. In the Dom Grenier Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, there is a reference, without further details, to the existence of a document of Raboldus de Mar-

1. Berlière, *l. c.*, genealogical table opposite p. 180; see also *supra*, Chapter IV, p. 30, n. 1. The earliest mentions of the name recorded by Berlière are a Goswyn de Markai in 1178, and a Jehan de Marcais in 1283.

2. *Histoire de l'arrondissement de Péronne*, par l'Abbé Paul de Cagny, Péronne, 1867-69, 2 vols.; Vol. II, p. 733.

3. Archives départementales de la Somme, 16H, pp. 137-38. The text of the passage containing this information was courteously furnished me by the Departmental Archivist, M. J. Estienne.

cais dated October, 1178¹. This was probably the deed of gift from Raboldus; in any event it indicates that in 1178 Raboldus was still living. The next item of interest is in 1190, when a document of Gilles de Marquais transfers to the monastery of Ham a tithe-right he possessed at Santin². The transfer is subscribed to by Mathieu, prior of Santin, by Gilles, son of the grantor, by Gauthier, nephew of the grantor, and by others. We have here the first appearance of a Gilles de Marquais, with a son of the same name already of legal age. In 1211, Gilles, seigneur of Marquais, confirms the donation by Gaufridus de Carteigni of a third of the tithe of Santin³. This confirmation was needed because, as we shall later see⁴, Geoffroy de Cartigny was a vassal of Gilles. In 1224, Gilles de Marquais again appears as suzerain, confirming the donation by his brother to the church at Fervagues of a property in Roisel⁵.

The preceding mentions have to do with Gilles de Marquais as a local suzerain and property owner. In those that follow, he will take his place as a liege man. The original manuscript of the first register of the acts of chancery in the reign of Philip Augustus is preserved at Rome and a fac-simile of it has been published by Delisle. It was drawn up in the course of the years 1204-1212 and is known as Register A. In it there is a list of the *milites regni Franciæ* in which the names are classed according to the various provinces. In the

1. *Collection Dom Grenier*, Vol. 210, p. 156. The item was located by Professor P. B. Fay, who kindly examined certain volumes of this collection to see whether they contained supplementary data regarding Marquais.

2. Cagny, Vol. II, p. 734. The monastery of Ham had established the priory of Santin, and it was for the benefit of the priory that this title was acquired; see Vol. I, p. 233, under the discussion of Santin.

3. Cagny, Vol. II, p. 734. Cagny gives as his authority for this and the preceding item the Dom Grenier Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

4. *Infra*, p. 36.

5. Cocheris, "Catalogue des manuscrits sur la Picardie," *SAPic. : Mémoires*, in-8°, Vol. 16 (1859), p. 91; *Collection Dom Grenier*, Vol. 290, p. 103.

group under the heading *Viromannia* there occurs the name of *Gilo de Marques*¹.

A similar allusion occurs in Register C, composed in the years 1211 to 1220 : *Gilo de Marques* is again listed as subject to royal military service². This list is not, like the first, arranged by provinces, but the *Marques* is juxtaposed to other names from Vermandois³.

When Gilles next appears upon the scene, it is in a far less impersonal fashion. Registers E and F of Philip Augustus contain a catalogue of the vassals of the king with a description of their fiefs. Under *Viromandia* there is a sub-head *Feoda quæ tenentur a domino rege apud Peronam*. Among these fiefs the following is listed⁴ :

Gilo de Marquais, homo ligius, tenet Marquas cum omnibus apendiciis, excepto molendino de Moienpont, videlicet hospites et redditus ejusdem villæ, sed nescit quantum valent, uno anno plus, alio minus. Tenet etiam vivarium et molendin[um] de Hamelet, et modiatam pratorum et xxix modiatas et quinque quarteria terræ, et vii modios de terragiis ad nonam garbam, et xii modiatas boscorum et tria jugera, apud Verignes ix modiatas de terra ad mensuram Peronæ. Tenet etiam Testrich, et molendin[um] et prata et x modiatas et v sextariatas terræ octo virgis minus, et decimam de Testrich ad mensuram Sancti Quintini et tenet homagia Guifroidi de Kar-

1. *Le premier registre de Philippe-Auguste*, reproduction héliotypique du manuscrit du Vatican, p. p. L. Delisle, Paris, 1883, fol. 73v°. In HGF., 23 (1876), p. 686, the name is given, in the form *Gylo de Marches*, from later copies of this same list contained in Registers B, C, and D. It is some one of these registers which was the source for the mention of *Gilo de Marches* by F. Duchesne, *Historiæ Francorum Scriptores*, Vol. V, 1649, p. 265, and for the mention (with an error in localization) of Gilles de Marchais by P. Roger, *Noblesse et chevalerie du Comté de Flandre, d'Artois et de Picardie*, Amiens, 1843, p. 112. For the establishment of the dates of the registers, see Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste*, Paris, 1856; Tuetey, "Rapport d'une mission à Rome," *Archives des Missions scientifiques*, 3^e série, Vol. 6 (1880), pp. 313-94; HGF., 23, p. 606.

2. HGF., 23, p. 693.

3. The next item in the list is the military obligations of Péronne, which lay eight kilometers from Marquais.

4. HGF., 23, p. 648.

teigni, Hugonis de Villers, Guillelmi de Harvell[is], Rosselli Queisne, Petri Murgale, Odardi de Pevelli, Arnulfi de Herleville, Radulfi de Harbongeriis, Roberti de Beeloi, Ren. de Cordemenche, Nivelonis de Lions, Jacobi Priere, Roberti de Vendolio, Gumberti de Roisset, Gilo Moietaius, Gueliers, Radulfum Geleir, Robertum de Haencort, Bartholomæum de Vendolio, Robertum de Verrignes, Johannis Saligot, Johannis filii Nicolai, Rabuef de Athies, Johannis Rufi de Roisset, Roberti senescalli, Petri Macri, Roberti Quercus, Radulfi Prophetæ, majoris de Marquais, dominæ Aelidis de Hagircort. Si plus inquiret, plus dicet.

Under the same sub-head occurs the following¹ :

Johannes, Major de Athies, homo ligius, tenet manerium et quidquid habet apud Athias, et homagium Gilonis de Marquais. Register E was begun in 1220 and was continued until 1270. The material in Register F was copied in 1247 from Register E². Thus the list of fiefs is at once dated as between 1220 and 1247. The pagination sequence of Register E has become badly deranged in rebinding. Folio 25 has the only title inscribed on the work, namely : *Hic incipit register Domini illustrissimi Francorum regis Philippi*. In consequence, it would seem that folio 25 belongs to the earliest section of the work, or to 1220. Now it is on folio 25 that the list of the royal fiefs begins, so that the entry regarding Gilles is probably between 1220 and the death of Philip in 1223. The compilation of the material utilized in delimiting the fiefs must, however, have preceded these dates, for Gilles is specified as the vassal of John, mayor of Athies. Now John, mayor and *seigneur* of Athies, renounced in June, 1219, all his rights in Athies save his title to his real estate³.

It is in 1231 that the name of Gilles de Marquais reappears. In a statement of the amounts paid out in connection with the brief royal expedition of that year against Pierre Mauclerc, there are included the sums paid, for themselves

1. HGF., 23, p. 649.

2. HGF., 23, p. 606; Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste*, p. xlvii.

3. See Cocheris, SAPic. : *Mémoires* in-8°, Vol. 12 (1853), p. 266.

and their followers, to various *milites* who took part in the campaign, with a record of the length of their service. The following entry there occurs¹ :

Gilo de Marques pater, se tertio, de xix diebus : xvii l., ii s. Thus in 1231 a Gilles de Marquais is found participating in a military campaign of his overlord, and had an adult son of the same name who was perhaps one of the two companions on the expedition whose remuneration was paid over to Gilles.

From 1231 on, the earliest date at which I next locate a member of the Marquais family is when a Gilles de Marquais figures in "un accord conclu, en 1270, entre Gilles de Marquaix et Baudouin, abbé du Mont-Saint-Quentin²." In 1272, a Guerardus de Marchais is listed as a knight of the Péronne district who served as a member of the royal army assembled against the Count of Foix³.

In the light of what we now know of Marquais and its seigneurs, we can better judge the identification suggested by Paul Meyer, but, on account of the difference of name, contested by Appel⁴. Jean Le Carpentier, in his *Histoire de Cambrai et du Cambrésis*, Leyden, 1664, says⁵ :

Markais, ou Marquais, porte d'or freté de gueules, de laquelle maison estoit Guillaume Sire de Markais Chevalier qui l'an 1228 donna à l'abbaye de S. Aubert⁶ dix mencaudées de terre situées à Tilloy lez Cambrai⁷, du consentement de son épouse Marie de Haplaincourt, qui portoit une croix ancrée pour ses armes.

The Guillaume Sire de Markais here named is hardly other than Gilles himself. The only manor of Marquais in the vicin-

1. HGF., 24, p. 224; already cited by Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française*, Paris, 1886, Vol. II, p. 258, n. 2.

2. Hector Josse, *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Moyenpont*, Amiens, 1893, p. 3. Josse cites as his authority the "registre ms de M. Hutellier, curé de Marquaix-Hamelet, chapitre consacré à l'inventaire des titres de l'église de Hamelet, dressé le 10 mai 1717, pp. 239-251."

3. HGF., 23, 738.

4. Zotenberg and Meyer, *Barlaam und Josaphat*, p. 320; Appel, *Balaham und Josaphas*, p. xxxiii.

5. Part II, p. 762.

6. Saint-Aubert de Cambrai.

7. Two kilometers north of Cambrai.

ity of Cambrai was our Marquais; the head of the family in 1228 was Gilles; the Gilles to whom our poem is dedicated had to wife a Marie. The wife of the Marquais who deeded a farm to the monastery of Saint-Aubert at Cambrai was Marie de Haplaincourt. There are two places of this name: Haplincourt (Pas-de-Calais, canton de Bertincourt, about 19 km northwest of Marquaix), and Happlincourt (Somme, commune de Villers-Carbonnel, about 13 km southwest of Marquaix). Either place was within close enough range of Marquais to render the alliance of the families natural. It would not be a surprising error on the part of Le Carpentier to mistake a *Gilo* or a *G* in his source for an abbreviation of *Guillaume*, or to make some similar error in transcribing the notes jotted down at the time he was collecting the genealogical materials which enter into his book¹. We may with small hesitation assume that such a mistake did occur, and that we have here an additional reference to round out our dates.

If we accept Marie the wife of Gilles as being Marie de Haplaincourt, it is still by no means easy to choose between the two places of the name. Happlincourt (Somme) is in Vermandois. It is in Vermandois that are located all the fiefs of Gilles, and it is with Vermandois that are associated all his vassals whose names serve to localize them, so that nothing could be more natural than that Gilles should choose his wife from this same region. On the other hand, Haplincourt (Pas-de-Calais) lay in the diocese of Cambrai, and the donation to a Cambrai church might indicate that Marie's family ties were rather with Cambr sis than with Vermandois.

The repeated mentions recorded in the preceding pages are sufficient to indicate that from 1190 to 1231 the seigneur of Marquais was uninterruptedly a Gilles, but it is substantially out of the question that one and the same Gilles in 1190 had an adult son and in 1231 was called for military service and

1. Le Carpentier was notoriously unreliable in his utilization of these materials for the glorification of contemporary families. It is, however, indisputable that he made extensive use of the local historical records.

actually served. A number of the items cited must have reference to the Gilles junior of 1190, whom we may term Gilles II. The son Gilles of 1231 constituted a Gilles III who probably succeeded, after that date, to the headship of the house and who may be the Gilles mentioned in 1270. In any event there are clear indications that the successive heads of the house bore the name Gilles for approximately one hundred years. Can we select from this list the Gilles to whom Gui de Cambrai refers?

The Latin manuscript of the Barlaam and Josaphat located at the monastery of Arrouaise¹ on which Gui based his poem was made accessible to him, so he tells us (6204-14), by John dean of Arras. John I was in office as dean of Arras in 1186 and had been replaced by 1188; John II was in office in 1190 and had been replaced by 1193; John III was in office in 1200, was still in office in 1209, but had been replaced in 1214². Paul Meyer³ believed that the two earlier deans were excluded by the date of Gilles de Marquais, but we have seen that no such exclusion can be maintained. Since the poem clearly specifies (1209-14) that the John of Arras referred to was no longer of this world, 1186 constitutes our only safe *terminus a quo*⁴. John of Arras seems to have suggested the theme and certainly provided the original for Gui's translation; so, particularly as the manuscript was a borrowed one, we should normally suppose that no very extensive time elapsed between John's death and the composition of Gui's poem. If the John referred to was the latest of the three, he disappeared from the deanship between 1209 and 1214. A

1. In Artois, southeast of Bapaume; no longer in existence.

2. GC., III, 364. The next dean of the name, John IV, first appears in 1257.

3. *Barlaam und Josaphat*, p. 319.

4. Paul Meyer (p. 319) excludes John I on the ground that John I later became bishop of Cambrai and that this fact would not have escaped mention by Gui, but this exclusion does not hold. The *Gallia Christiana* (III, 364, and III, 32) indicates that John bishop of Cambrai was either John I dean of Arras or else a John who was at the same period provost of Arras.

liberal *terminus ad quem* for the composition would therefore be, let us say, 1220.

The character of the dedication perhaps furnishes a clue to a further limitation within this period from 1186 to 1220. We have noted¹ that the characterization of Gilles in the dedication is not what we might normally anticipate. Loyalty to an overlord thru thick and thin was a laudable trait, but why should it have been selected as the only trait to be discussed in detail, unless there were circumstances which made an emphasis upon this quality particularly flattering or else particularly timely? It is possible that there may exist some connection with the situation which culminated in the battle of Bouvines (July 27, 1214). The allegiance of the North, as might be anticipated, was seriously divided. In some cases Flemish knights were on the side of Philip Augustus; in others, Picard knights sided with the Count of Flanders. Instances were common like that of Hugues de Boves, in Vermandois, who had gone over to the camp of Ferrand de Flandre and was high in his counsels at the battle of Bouvines. Each side was fearful of spies or traitors in its ranks, and Philip was particularly uneasy in this regard as he went into battle. After his sweeping victory, he was in a position to hold every one to a strict account, and we may be confident that the loyalty of all knights who hailed from the border territory was subjected to close scrutiny, even when they had served on his side in the battle, as Gilles no doubt had done. Under these conditions, a public testimony to his never-varying loyalty, as manifesting itself in his every deed and in his every word, would be the most grateful and the most serviceable tribute which Gilles could receive. This, it may be, was what led Gui de Cambrai to place such exclusive emphasis upon his loyalty and to set it forth in such specific terms. If so, we should place the poem in the period immediately following the battle of Bouvines, and should conclude also that the John of Arras in question was John III.

1. *Supra*, p. 33.

It was suggested by Paul Meyer¹ that John III is identical with John of Beaumez, abbot of Arrouaise in 1194 and until 1196, for this would explain his familiarity with the books in the monastery library². There is nothing to prove definitely this identity, but line 6213, *L'estoire ama de Balaham*, clearly suggests a close and probably extended contact with the *Historia* such as John would have acquired by residence at Arrouaise, and would indicate that he not only obtained the manuscript for Gui, but that it was he who made to Gui the suggestion of translating it into the popular speech.

If we place the date of composition at about 1214, the Gilles of the poem is in all probability Gilles II. Gilles I, who may have become the head of the house at any time after 1178 and who had a grown child in 1190, had probably passed from the stage. Gilles II, who in 1231 had a son of fighting age and whose wife, if Le Carpentier's *Guillaume* should read *Gilles*, was named Marie, corresponds to all that we know about the Gilles of the Barlaam and Josaphat. This is the Gilles to whom refer probably all the mentions save those of 1190 and 1270, and of whom we can constitute a somewhat detailed picture from the historical documents, supplemented by the information in the dedication.

Gilles de Marquais II was born not later than about 1170. He was a vavasor who held his fief from John, mayor of Athies, and who served in the king's armies from time to time over a period of years. He was married to Marie, almost certainly Marie de Haplaincourt, and he had a son who bore his name. Both he and his wife were liberal to the

1. Pp. 319-20.

2. An additional reason for Meyer's attempt to link the two names is the statement in Manuscript P of the poem that John of Arras took the Latin manuscript to Arrouaise (*En Arouaise l'emporta* 6208). But the reading of the Monte Cassino manuscript, which was inaccessible to Meyer, is simply to the effect that John borrowed the manuscript from Arrouaise (*En Arouaise l'emprunta*). The attempt of Appel (p. xv) to give to *presta* (6207) another interpretation than 'lent' is neither convincing nor necessary, and the primary meaning is especially suitable in this passage, where the word is so closely linked with *emprunta* (6208).

church, their liberality extending beyond their own diocese of Noyon and manifesting itself at Cambrai. He was esteemed for his honest bearing and for his traits of loyalty, and she for her works of piety. Both were of good stock and maintained their family traditions (Gui de Cambrai 13313, 13316), and there was some fact or event associated with them which was assumed to assure the permanent endurance of their name. The estate of Gilles was substantial. It embraced the village of Marquais, with the exception of the Moyenpont mill; lands, mills, and water rights in the adjacent village of Hamelet, and in Vraignes, 6 km to the south; and the village of Tertry¹, 9 km to the south, along with adjacent properties. The record of his property transfers at other periods bears witness to further possessions. For a vavasseur, Gilles had quite a number of vassals, thirty being listed. Without exception, all who can be located by means of their names are connected with places in Vermandois², and certain of them were themselves men of some importance³. It is normal to assume that by 1228 he was turning his thoughts toward death and the future world, and that his last recorded military campaign in 1231 may well have been also his last actual participation in the work of the royal armies. All told, he must have been

1. This is the proper identification of Testrich; see Garnier, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de la Somme*, Amiens, 1867-78, 2 vols. [SARic.: *Mémoires* in-8°, Vols. 21 and 24.] It is to be noted that the system of measures in vogue at Testrich was that of Saint-Quentin, and that Gilles' holdings included a mill. Tertry is in the Saint-Quentin region and is located on a stream, the Omignon.

2. See Garnier, *o. c.* For a map showing the location of the places in question, kindly prepared by Mr. L.F.H. Lowe, see *supra*, at the beginning of Chapter v. One of those vassals of Gilles whose names give no indication of their locality, Robertus Quercus, is perhaps the Robertus Quercus senior "de pontonagio Peronæ" whose son is described in HGF., 23, 648, as a vassal of Jean de Boissavesnes. I have failed to localize Robertus de Pevelli.

3. Geoffroy de Cartigny, altho owing homage to Gilles, is recorded as holding lands in his own right and as making a substantial gift to the church; see HGF., 23, 647; Cagny, *o. c.*, Vol. I, p. 203. Another vassal of Gilles, Nevelon de Lihons, is recorded in 1215 as a *marescallus domini regis*; see Cagny, Vol. I, p. 639.

a man of distinct local importance, influential and respected in the whole region.

By reason of their importance in the region to which, as shown by his surname, by his personal allusions, and by the linguistic traits of his work, Gui de Cambrai belonged, it is not surprising that Gilles and Marie de Marquais were chosen as the subjects for his dedication. The natural interpretation of his wording seems to imply even more; namely, that this work of piety was written in pursuance of a commission placed by them with the author. Both in lines 30-33 where he says

Por Gillon, qui est de Marcais,
Et sa feme qu'a non Marie
Est ceste estoire commencee

and in 13317 where he repeats

Por lui, por li ai l'uevre emprise,

the statement that the book has been undertaken for them appears to mean that it is composed at their order or is destined for them, rather than merely that it is composed in their honor¹. What we know of them indicates that they had the means to permit this and the pious leanings which would lead them to look with favor upon the theme. Whether they were themselves patrons of literature or whether the work was intended as one of their largesses to neighboring religious establishments, we have no way to judge.

1. Compare the dedication of the *Vengeance Alexandre* (Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, Vol. II, p. 256):

Ces vers ai commencies por le conte et portrais
Qui tint cuite Clermons par deseure Biauvais.
Dameldex li doinst joie, victore, onor et pais!
El non al vaillant conte a cui Clermons apent,
Et por Simon son frere, sacies seurement,
Sont cist ver ici fait qui ci sont en present.
Guis de Cambrai les fist en lor tesmognement
Qui por ceste oeuvre ara gueredon bel et gent.

Attention has been called¹ to the curious combination in the prologue of a sweeping attribution of enduring fame with a modest specification of personal qualities, but it is quite possible that the dedication had, for the local contemporaries of Gilles and Marie, no element of incongruousness. It so happens that Marquaix possesses one title to regional celebrity. Hard by the village there was the chapel of Moyenpont and the Moyenpont mill, the latter building excluded specifically from the list of possessions held by Gilles and so presumably a church property. The Moyenpont chapel was dedicated to the Virgin, and has remained down to our own day the chief pilgrimage center in Vermandois. Numerous miraculous cures have been attributed to it, and it has been the object of various treatises, some of them dating back to the seventeenth century². Tradition has it that in the period of the crusades neighboring knights constructed the chapel as a shrine for a statue of the Virgin miraculously discovered upon the spot by a shepherd³. If, as seems probable, the shrine existed at the time of Gilles de Marquais⁴, it is almost sure that he and his wife were among its principal benefactors. To Gui de Cambrai it might well seem that by reason of association with this incipient Lourdes

Mesire Gilles de Markais
 En ert apriés sa mort nommés
 Tant com durra crestiientés,
 Et sa femme, cele Marie

1. *Supra*, p. 33.

2. H. Josse, *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Moyenpont*, Amiens, 1893, 155 pp.; Em. N. Chas, *Notre-Dame de Moyenpont*, Péronne, 1888, 112 pp.; *Le Pèlerinage de Notre-Dame de Moyenpont*, Amiens, 1850, 36 pp.; Jean Le Boucher, *Le Pèlerinage de Notre-Dame de Moyenpont*, Paris, 1622, 30-246 pp.; Jacques Le Vasseur, *Diva Virgo mediopontana*, Paris, 1622, 34 + 336 + 31 pp.; *Le Pèlerinage de Notre-Dame de Moyenpont, proche de la ville de Péronne en Picardie*, Saint-Quentin, 1692, 55 pp.

3. Cagny, *o. c.*, Vol. II, pp. 736-44; P. Roger, *Bibliothèque historique de la Picardie et de l'Artois*, Amiens, 1844, p. 99.

4. Already in 1145, there occurs a mention of Moyenpont as attached to the parish of Marquais, tho a chapel is not specifically mentioned. *Cartulaire d'Homblières*, BNL., 13911, fo. 5.

Ki par bonne evre se marie
A Damerdiu, nostre signor.

As it has turned out, the prospect for the verification of this prophecy is due to the good offices of Gui de Cambrai himself, but, in view of the probable connection of Gilles with Moyenpont, we are not obliged to assume that Gui's own part in preserving the fame of the Marquais family was all or even any part of what he had in mind in making the statement.

CHAPTER VI

GUI DE CAMBRAI

Until now I have omitted any reference to a possible hesitation regarding the authenticity of the two passages in which Gui de Cambrai is named as the author of the Barlaam and Josaphat. Let us consider the reasons which might lead to such a hesitation.

One of the mentions of Gui occurs just after the lines which tell of John dean of Arras and the part he played in securing the *Historia*¹. The whole passage is as follows (6204-18) :

- Jehans, uns vesques de Damas,
6205 Le translata molt hautement,
Car il le sot bien vraiment ;
Et uns Jehans le nous presta ;
En Arouaise l'emprunta.
Cil Jehans ert d'Arras doiiens ;
6210 Je cuic k'il ert bons crestiiens ;
Haus hom estoit, de grant nobleche
Et de parage et de hauteche.
L'estoire ama de Baleham ;
De Jehan vint chi par Jehan.
6215 Guys de Cambray, ki l'a rimee
Et en roumanch l'a translatee,
Dist que li rois assis estoit
Al parlement que il tenoit.

These lines are injected into the narrative with a crude attempt at adjustment similar to the procedure which we have found to be a characteristic of the *PC redactor². The preceding line (6203)

Je vous di voir ; ne vous menc pas

1. See *supra*, Chapter v, p. 40.

2. See *supra*, Chapter I, pp. 7-9.

is, as a link to what precedes, only a makeshift; lines 6217-18, which are the off-glides back to the narrative, are redundant paraphrases of 6179, 6201-02. The passage has nothing to do with the context, and is pasted on to it in the flimsiest fashion, the only excuse for its presence being the parenthetical mention in line 6198 of *l'estoire*.

The other occurrence of the name is in lines 5328-31, which are located at the close of the episode of the capture, torture, and martyrdom of a band of hermits¹. The passage with its context is as follows (5316-40):

- Por joie changent lor anui
 Cil ki la painne en ont sofferte,
 Car Dex lor rent bien lor deserte
 Et rendera mais a tous dis.
 5320 Lor ames sont em paradys,
 Car tant gaaigne ki tant pert.
 Li saint ki furent el desert
 Et converserent longement
 Et par martyre el par torment
 5325 Ont la couronne deservie
 Que Damedex lor a partie
 .x. et .vii. furent par droit conte.
 Guyos, ki dist et ki raconte
 Et ki l'estoire a si menee
 5330 Ke en roumanch l'a translatee
 Fenist ichi de lor martyre.
 L'estoire dist que Nostre Sire
 A lor ames biel recheües,
 Car les painnes k'il ont eües
 5335 Les ont rendus al creatour.
 Empereour sont et signour
 De la grant gloire de lassus
 Par le martyre de cha jus.
 Li rois, ki est en sa cité,
 5340 Son consillier a demandé.

Here again the reference to Gui is extraneous; and here again

1. The beginning of this same episode is one of the points where the redactor of *PC has interpolated a passage into the text; see *supra*, Chapter 1, p. 8.

the lines which follow the reference are a paraphrase of those which precede it. Despite the expression *l'estoire dist* of 5332, the *Historia* says nothing of the sort; it is lines 5316-26 that say it. Even the mention of Gui seems nothing more than an echo of the other passage where he is named.

Since both these passages bear marks which we have come to recognize as indications of a *PC interpolation, shall we in consequence conclude that they were composed by the redactor of *PC? Clearly not. The details regarding the location of the *Historia* and the intervention of John of Arras are not such as a later redactor would or could have given, save as he found them in his source. It is, however, manifest that *PC has removed the material from some other point in the poem, just as in the case of the dedication. There seems little room to doubt what that point was. Here, as in the dedication, we have fragments of the prologue. When *PC removed the dedication from the prologue to the latter part of the poem¹, he redistributed what remained of personal allusion. In 5328 he brought in Gui's name as best he could. A little farther on he found what seemed to him an opportunity to weave into the text the history of the inception of the work as given in the prologue, choosing the place on account perhaps of the catch-word *histoire* which occurred in 6198.

Where in the prologue was the passage located? Hardly after the dedication, for this seems to link closely on to what follows it. Presumably then between the beginning of the general prologue and the dedication, where it may have occupied the place now taken by lines 21-29. These lines constitute a digression from their immediate context, and, if introduced as a filler, could have been elaborated from the beginning of the body of the story, lines 73ff. Furthermore, line 28 is obscure and clumsy. If for these lines we substitute lines 6203-16, then in

1. See *supra*, Chapter iv, p. 27.

Je vous di voir, ne vous menc pas:
 Jehans, uns vesques de Damas
 Le translata molt hautement

the *le* refers to *l'estoire de Josaphas et d'Avenir* (19-20) immediately preceding¹. After 6216 there was a phrase or passage which supplied the predicate for the *Guys de Cambrai* of 6215 as well as the rime to join up with line 30 immediately following. If more than one line has disappeared in the readjustment, this passage may even have contained additional information regarding Gui de Cambrai.

The original prologue was a more symmetrical introduction to the poem than we should have inferred from the opening passage as it stands in Appel's edition. This can be judged from a summary of its essential features. 1) General introduction. — He who well maintains service well begun merits double reward, and from his suffering springs great joy : goodly is the toilful life when it leads to the glorified life. For, as this history tells, they who seek this world's glory are sadly deceived. I do not wish to lengthen out the prologue, but rather to enter upon the history of Josaphat and Avenir. [1-20.] 2) Authority for the story. — John of Damascus translated it; John of Arras borrowed it from Arrouaise and lent it to us; this worthy man loved the history of Barlaam; thus from John by way of John it came into our hands. Gui de Cambrai has translated it into its present versified French form. [6203-16.] 3) Dedication. — The work was done for Gilles and Marie de Marquais, who are worthy of high praise and whose name will endure. Let all who listen to the poem pray for their salvation and for that of the author. Now listen to the history of Avenir and Josaphat. [30-33; 13292-13344.] 4) Transition from the prologue to the body of the story. — This transition passage (37-72) joins adequately what precedes and what follows, but it is quite possible that it was composed and added by the redactor of *PC when he removed

1. The standard form in the poem for the feminine of the personal pronoun is *le*.

the preceding part of the prologue. Lines 37-60 are an obscure and labored comparison of the mixed good and evil of former times with the unmixed evil of the day, and are in the tone of the redactor rather than of Gui. Lines 61-72 are a not particularly apposite junction of 37-60 with the beginning of the story at line 73, which is also the point where the first correspondence with the Latin text occurs. Should 37-72 be eliminated as a substitute introduced by *PC in the place of the dedication which he removed, then lines 73ff. join on smoothly to what would then be the last assured line of the prologue; namely, to line 13344.

To sum up, it seems likely that all of Gui's references to himself and to his contemporaries were in the prologue, and that thruout the rest of his work he confined himself strictly to the development of the story he was undertaking to tell.

Regarding the history of the author of the Barlaam and Josaphat we know not a word; regarding his personality, only what we can deduce from that part of the poem which he composed, and these deductions have already been presented in the introductory chapter. He was an educated man, was in friendly relations with the clergy, and, if we accept the dedication as meaning that the book was prepared to order for the seigneur of Marquais and his lady, he was a professional writer. The question whether he is identical with the Gui de Cambrai named as the author of the *Vengeance Alexandre* must, in the absence of the long-awaited edition of the *Vengeance*, remain in the suspended state where the latest discussion, that of Appel, left it¹.

1. Appel, pp. XLIV-XLVII. It is of interest to note the similarity of phraseology in the dedications: *Por Gillon, qui est de Marçais, / Et sa feme qu'a non Marie / Est ceste estoire commencie* (B&J); *Ces vers ai commenciés por le conte et portrais / Qui tint cuite Clermons par deseure Biauvais* (VA). For the full text of the dedication of the *Vengeance*, see *supra*, Chapter v, p. 44, note. Each work is dedicated to two persons of the same family, and the two families were located in the same general region. The domains of one of the two patrons of the *Vengeance*, Simon, seigneur of Ailly-sur-Noye and Tartigny, lay on the southwest-ern border of Vermandois.

Un jour aloient en redout iosephas & f. oultre, & il regnoit li q̄ li uert
 ne tra pūte gāte. li vit. q̄. hōmes seoir au solai qui n' n'uoit
 onques mēc uerz. Li uns estoit richier & li autres auborgies. Adonc
 fu li d'amoilant d'atūis. li apria les tōpignons. il lor demāda quez
 hōmes estoient qui l'uoit qui li estoient tant & uerz. al uerz b' u
 qua respondre lor cōuer. Si li distrent q̄ ualut hōme estoit d'eri d
 prieron. par quil d'uoit en tel agaladie con al estoient. & il lor dist
 cū tōc a: ualut comuns a tōz hōmes. Quant fūrent il ne place aur
 dūte aur; en cū mlt qui n' n'uoit aur cōt redie. S'c tūnt ne l'ont tōment
 puer son ap'p'uoit que l'ont al qui la toultur auoir. S'ur fūnt al
 ce ne puet nūl sauoit fors seulement le dieu qui ont de toute chose m
 noultant & pūltant. Iosephas lassa cū la chose. ap'z il en t'p
 en q'at pūlt & maures fūnt les chueilla. & mlt le tenoit a grant m
 uelle. vne autre fois a cūcōte. i. uellat d'auu. qui p'z auoir d
 e. anz tōc cōulant & tout mōt qua pūnt se p'oir il d'uoit. li le
 fūnt uerz d'auu. mlt il le uoloit au' l'ouet. A pūnt p'oir p'at
 mlt il n'uoit q̄ vū l'ouit t'ent en la bon d'ie. Il le montra a les cōp'g
 nous & dit. q̄ cūcōte; ce q̄ le uoy. seignoz dist il q̄ mlt dūnt p'z: quelle
 ad'p'ouit hōm est li mal'p'g'ne; qui li a l'ouit & la p'ole p'due. al
 d'p'ouit que amlt estoit il allōte; par uelle. mlt l'ont tūps a qui fū
 n'z & p'oir qui f' d'gnt rage in am'culant la uertuz et d'uoit a tel mōt
 chet tōm uous p'z uerz. Et iosephas lor dist a quoz uerz il ap'z ce mōt
 chet. la mort le p'ua fūnt il. ne n'uoit mōt fors que la mort. lor dist li
 tūnt. Et li m'p'g'ne; est li comuns a tōz; on a aucuns. & il li dist q̄
 estoit comuns. al n'uoit q̄ la mort le p'g'ne; aur; qui uic'g'ne; a
 uelle. & si m' dūnt amlt li cōuent ch' l'ouit hōm p'at par mlt la mort
 ad' fūnt il quāt li hōm a t'at aur; ou. mlt on le t'at adonc est il cūnt;
 en uelle. & li e' ap' uerz; li t'at q̄ mlt ne doit gāte l'ouit q̄ la mort
 l'atūle. aur adonc le fūnt elle mlt d' p'z. & bien la ch' fūnt il q̄ ce la
 mōt ne p'at mlt; d'uoit. ne se nūl ne d'uoit t'at le l'ouit p'at
 ne blānt. O; ne l'ouit iosephas q' n' pūlt d'at se t'at non qui
 ne semble q' n' n'uoit d'uoit d'uoit & t'at d'uoit. fūnt e' li hōz
 qui l'ouit d'uoit d'uoit l'ouit bien qui mōt. Cōment p'at e' fūnt
 li hōm seurs ne mōt d'uoit d'uoit d'uoit d'uoit. & li ne fūnt
 l'ouit ne le t'at.

. Tant sei uone li iouenaur .

Français 423

Beuvens-Langlois. Photog.
 P. Lemaire suc. Paris

Prose Version
 (Paris 7 v°)

1. V.

CHAPTER VII

THE TERMINATION IN THE MONTE CASSINO MANUSCRIPT

The Cambrai version ended at line 12934. The redactor of *PC, having added to the Cambrai version a digression and having attached to this digression the dedication which he had removed from the prologue, thereby carried the text on thru 13344. He then repeated (13345-84), in altered phraseology, the materiel which immediately precedes the digression¹, and brought the text to a conclusion with 21 lines (13385-390, and P, fo. 300, 20-34) preserved for us in P and containing further echoes² of what had gone before.

Doubtless the redactor of *PC realized that this termination was unsatisfactory, but his resources were not such as enabled him to do better. P followed in his halting footsteps, but C^{as}, or a redactor who was the link between *PC and C^{as}, had access to the Anonymous B&J and borrowed from it. Locating the place in the anonymous version corresponding to the point at which the Cambrai version broke off, he took up the thread of the story and carried it to completion (13391-482). This termination has in the Anonymous B&J 188 lines; in C^{as} 92 lines, of which many correspond word for word with the other version and of which hardly more than a dozen show no resemblance at all. There is no doubt of the direction in which the borrowing occurred. The testimony of T, of C^{ar} to the point where it breaks off, and of Pr establish beyond question that the passage is an integral part of the Anonymous B&J.

1. See *supra*, Chapter iv, pp. 23-24.

2. Namely, fo. 300, 26: *Que si del tout a Diu se rent*, see 12920, 12934, 13346; fo. 300, 28: *A Diu crie merchi souvent*, see 12929, 13348; fo. 300, 29: *K'il le puist servir bonement*, see 12920; fo. 300, 31: *Ne li chaut mais de sa mesaise*, see 12914, 13360.

In linking this termination to the body of the story, C^{as} failed to eliminate the extraneous matter that had been introduced by *PC. The continuation is joined, not to the termination of the Cambrai version at about 12934, but to the repetition of this termination which had been introduced by *PC at lines 13345 ff. This was natural enough, for the interpolation, by reason of the dedication incorporated in it, seemed an essential part of the poem. Thus C^{as} maintained the entire ending of *PC with the exception of the dedication¹ and of the few lines, preserved by P, which followed 13390. To link the new text to 13390, he adapted from the anonymous version two lines, which stand in the Appel edition as 13391-92 and constitute the first indication of the crossing of the versions.

One passage (13393-404) of the borrowed ending is of especial interest, since it shows that the manuscript of the Anonymous B&J consulted by C^{as} was nearer to the original than T or C^{ar}. Even more interesting are lines 13429-70, for they indicate that C^{as} utilized a model which, so far as regards these lines, had undergone a thoro, and by no means unskilful, reworking. This model appears to be a redaction into which a competent versifier had purposely introduced substantial modifications. There is no trace in B, C, or T, for any part of the poem, of alterations similar in character or extent, so that we have in the C^{as} passage the only vestige of an important redaction of the Anonymous B&J.

An examination of the lines in C^{as} raises a number of questions of detail, but they concern particularly the alterations in the text of the anonymous version which have taken place in manuscripts T and C^{ar} and they will be reserved for a separate chapter. What interests us at the present point in the discussion is that the Monte Cassino manuscript, by adopting and adapting the conclusion of the Anonymous B&J, shows a serious effort to supply a satisfactory termination for the Cambrai version. Evidence is absent that this brought to the poem any popular-

1. On his reasons for excluding the dedication, see *supra*, p. 27, and p. 30, note 1.

ity extending beyond territory centering around Cambrai. The anonymous version had been in existence long enough to undergo substantial reworking, and it had probably preempted the field. The main service rendered by the redactor who made the transference was that he thereby preserved the testimony that the Anonymous B&J was even more widely circulated than is shown by the preservation of three manuscripts, each from a different locality, and by the persistence in two manuscripts of a prose reworking.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

CHAPTER VIII

TEXT OF THE ENDING IN THE VARIOUS VERSIONS

In this chapter there will be given the text of the Latin version¹ and of the manuscripts of the Anonymous B&J for the concluding portion of the poem, beginning at the point where Josaphat awakes from the vision which followed the death of Barlaam. For the sake of ready reference I add the termination appended by the Monte Cassino manuscript to the Cambrai version, basing the text upon the Appel edition.

The text of the metrical version of the Anonymous B&J is constituted on the basis of the Tours and Carpentras manuscripts, the variants offered by these manuscripts being noted, save such as are purely orthographic. For the spellings I follow the combined testimony of the rime words in the poem and of the Besançon manuscript², which is the only text in which the orthography shows substantial accord with the forms supported by the rimes.

For the Cambrai version, the line numbering of Appel is followed; for the Anonymous B&J, the foliation of T, the only manuscript which has come down to us in unmutilated

1. The text is that found in *S. Ioannis Damasceni Historia de vitis et rebus gestis Sanctorum Barlaam Eremitæ, et Iosaphat Regis Indorum, Georgio Trapezuntio interprete*. Antverpiæ, apud Ioannem Bellerum sub Aquila Aurea.[n. d.] The dedication reads as follows: "Reverendo in Christo patri ac domino Gabrieli Baquæo, monasterii Ænamensis, ordinis divi Renedicti apud Aldenardum Cœnobarchæ longe vigilantissimo F. Petrus Bacherius Dominicanus Gandensis." Gabriel Bacquet was abbot of the monastery of Einham near Audenarde from 1563 to 1582 (*Gallia Christiana*, V, 35). Jan Beelaert's printing establishment was conducted at the sign of the Golden Eagle from 1564 until his death in 1595 (G. van Havre, *Marques typographiques des imprimeurs anversoïis*, Vol. 1, Antwerp and Ghent, 1883, p. 23). Thus the edition was issued between 1564 and 1582. The text is that of the medieval Latin translation, and not that of Jacques de Billy (1577).

2. B does not contain any part of the text under discussion.

condition. The number following the folio-number indicates the column; the number following the column-number indicates the line of the column¹. For convenience of treatment, I have divided the text into six consecutive sections, which coincide with the grouping of the material in the discussion.

The symbol Y is used for the redaction which was the common source of C^{ar} and T. On the relation of these two manuscripts, and on the question of their tendency to make excisions from the text, see *supra*, Chapter III.

I.—T 83.3.25—83.4.10

HISTORIA

P.351.—Excitatus vero a somno Iosaphat, luce illa et ineffabili gloria habebat animam adhuc satiatam, et cum multa admiratione Domino gratiarum referebat hymnum. Mansit autem usque ad finem vitae suae, angelicam veraciter in terra ducens conversationem, et duriori exercitatione post transitum senis utens.

PROSE B&J (Pr₁ and Pr₂)

Fo.19.4.—Quant Josaphas fu esveilliez^a, si fu molt liez et molt joianz^b, et molt mercia nostre seigneur de celle gloire qu'il li ot mostree. Adonc chanja si sa vie qu'il mena vie d'ange.

a. Pr₂ oi cou — *b.* Pr₂ ioieus

TOURS AND CARPENTRAS

83.3.25 Quant ot dit, Josaphaz s'esvoille.
 Molt s'esjoït, molt se mervouille
 De la chose qu'il a veüe,
 E s'ame en est si enbeüe
 Que la douçors de cele gloire
 30 Ne puet chaoir de sa memoire,
 E durement s'est merveilliez.

25 T Q. ce ot — 26 T M. s'e. e s'esm. — 28 C en iert

1. For example, 82.4.9-12 means folio 82, verso, column b, lines 9-12. There are four columns to the folio and thirty-six lines to the column.

- Lors s'est levez; toz rencraissiez
 Se retrove, e grant bien li fait
 Li dormirs que il avoit fait.
 35 Onques mais n'ot joie graignor,
 Graces en rent nostre saignor.
 83.4.1 Lors a emprise de rechief
 Contre son cors bataille grief,
 E après la mort Barlaan
 Soffri assez graignor ahan
 5 Qu'il n'avoit fait onques devant,
 E sel maintint tot son vivant.
 De tote sa force pensoit
 E en son cuer se porpensoit
 Comment ses biens peüst doubler
 10 Por a son maistre ressembler.

32 C t. escreissiez; T t. engreffie — 33 T E se troue e tot refait — 34 C Cil d.; T Grant bien li a li dormirs f. — 35 C O. n'ot mais — 5 T a.onques fait d. — 6 T Si se m.

MONTE CASSINO

The corresponding passage in C^{as} (12895-934) is the concluding section of the Cambrai version and has no relation to the Anonymous B&J.

REMARKS

Pr has an item of the Latin which is absent from C^{ar} and T: *il mena vie d'ange*. This indicates that Y had excised a phrase, probably composing a couplet, after 83.4.2.

II.— T 83.4.11—83.4.14.

HISTORIA

P.351.— *Ætatis quidem suae vicesimo quinto anno terrenum [352] deseruit regnum, et eremiticum subiit laborem, triginta vero et quinque annis in hac eremo conversatus est.*

PROSE B&J

Fo.19.4.— Il avoit .xxv. anz d'aage quant il lascia le monde, et après fut .xxxv. anz en hermitage.

TOURS AND CARPENTRAS

	TOURS	CARPENTRAS
83.4.11	Ne vos puis ore pas tot dire]	Ne vos porroie pas tot dire]
12	Con mist son cors a grant martire]	Con mist son cors a grant martyre]
13	Mais molt ot ferm e bon coraige]	
14	Qu'il vesqui si tot son aage]	Mais parler viel de son aage]
	14a	Vint & .v. anz avoit d'aage
	14b	Quant il entra en l'ermitage
	14c	.xxxv. anzi demora
	14d	En tant de tens molt labora.

MONTE CASSINO 13393-404

	Ne vos poroie pas tot dire
	Con mist son cors a grant martire;
13395	Mes parler puis de son eage:
	A vint et .iiii. ans ot corage
	De guerpir son roiaume en terre
	Por le reig del ciel conquere.
	.xxxv. ans con bons ermites
* 13400	Si se mena que tos fust quites
	Li siecles et tos ses deduis.
	De vie part; si s'est conduis
	C ... son .. age monter
	.lix. ans puet.....r.

RECONSTITUTED TEXT

T 83.4.11	Ne vos porroie pas tot dire
12	Con mist son cors a grant martire,
C ^{ar} 14	Mais parler voil de son aage.
C ^{as} 13396	A vint e cinq anz ot corage
97	De guerpir son roiaume en terre
98	Por le regne del ciel conquerre.
C ^{ar} 14b&14d	En l'ermitage labora:
C ^{ar} 14c	Trente e cinq anz i demora.

REMARKS

The items of the *Historia* absent from T and present in C^{ar}

show that the shorter text of T is an intentional abbreviation. C^{as} has items of the *Historia* missing from both T and C^{ar}, and one of them (13397) is supported also by Pr. Thus all the versions must be utilized, and we shall expect the original, in accord with the usual procedure of the Anonymous B&J in narrative passages, to follow closely the substance and the order of the Latin.

Lines 11 and 12 are supported by all the manuscripts, and constitute a link from the preceding passage to the new theme.— Lines 13-14 of T are supported by no other manuscript; they are an alteration introduced by T to cover the abbreviation of the text.— Line 14 in C^{ar} is supported by C^{as} and is the development into a whole line of the word *aetatis*.— C^{ar} 14a is corrupt; C^{as} 396-98, save for the error in the figure, furnishes the reading that fits into the text and corresponds to the Latin. Pr supports 397, and 398 is a rime-filler. The rest of the passage in C^{as} (399-404) is merely a blundering scribal effort to juggle with the faulty arithmetic of C^{as} 396.— C^{ar} 14c is assured by the Latin; so also is a part of C^{ar} 14d, but there is still lacking a word *hermite* or *hermitage* demanded by the accord of C^{ar}, C^{as}, Pr, and the Latin. If *en l'ermitage* be introduced from C^{ar} 14b, and if 14d and 14c be transposed, the *i* of 14c retains its proper location with reference to its antecedent, and the passage acquires the exact content and the exact sequence of the Latin, embracing at the same time all the essentials of T, C^{ar}, C^{as}, and Pr.

The diversity in the texts probably goes back to an early error whereby a scribe, thrown off the track by line 14, dropped the preposition *a* and began the following line with the numeral stating the age.

The presence in Pr of an element (*quant il laissa le monde*) corresponding to the Latin but missing from both T and C^{ar} is a phenomenon reappearing in other passages. The present occurrence is of especial interest because in this case we have definite evidence of what in the other cases we assume:

that it is a sign, not of contamination from the Latin text, but of alteration or abbreviation in T and C^{ar}.

It is to be noted that the manuscript utilized by C^{as} represents the version nearest to the original. The six lines in which C^{as} followed his model have almost exactly the correct text; C^{as} then abandoned his source and attempted to develop his unfortunate miscalculation of the number of years spent in the hermitage. But it is clear that the manuscript of the Anonymous B&J drawn upon by C^{as} was, at least for this passage, free from errors that had entered the Y redaction—the redaction which is our sole source for the larger part of the text. C^{as} thus corroborates the testimony which B gives for another section of the poem that Y is in a number of instances inadequate for an assured reconstitution of the original.

III.— T 83.4.15—83.4.26

HISTORIA

P.352.— Multas prius animas hominum diabolo surripuit, et Deo salvandas obtulit, et in hoc perficiendo apostolicam gratiam promeruit. Erat autem martyr voluntate. Nam cum fiducia magna Christum in conspectu regum et tyrannorum confessus est, et praedicor ejus magnitudinis eximius claruit. Multos etiam spiritus nequitiae in eremo luctando prostravit, et omnes Christi superavit virtute, coelestisque particeps muneris diutius extitit et gratiae. Insuper et mundum animae oculum ab omni terrena caligine habuit, et valde praesentia, futura contemplabatur, et Christus erat ei pro omnibus: Christum desiderabat, Christum quasi praesentem cernebat, Christi decorem assidue speculabatur, secundum prophetam dicentem: Providebam Dominum in conspectu meo semper, quoniam a dextris est mihi ne commovear. Et iterum: Adhaesit anima mea post te, me suscepit dextera tua. Adhaesit enim vere anima illius post Christum, conjunctione indissolubili illa copulata. Non enim defecit a mirabili ista operatione, nec immutavit rigorem conversationis suae a principio

usque in finem, aequalem servans [353] promptitatem a puero usque ad tantam aetatem; imo ad altiore indies profecit virtutem et mundiorem promeruit contemplationem.

PROSE B&J

Fo.19.4.— Et deservi grace d'apostre par la sainte vie qu'il mena. Maint diable i^a fola et vanqui par la vertu de Deu, la cui amor il deservi^b. Son cuer, ses euz^c et ses oreilles ota de tote terriene richece et de tote covoitise et fut nez de toz pechiez^d. Tote s'esperance fut en Deu et l'ama de tot son cuer. Veraïement et fermement se tint en son bon^e propos. Chascun jor emenda sa vie, et con plus enveilli tant crut il plus en vertu et en proesce, et tant mena sainte vie [que Dieus l'en rendi le guerredon.]

a. Pr₂ *omits* i — *b.* Pr₂ deserui grasce d'apostre — *c.* Pr₂ *omits* ses euz — *d.* Pr₂ tout pechié — *e.* Pr₂ *omits* bon

TOURS AND CARPENTRAS

- 83.4.15 Des le premier jor que il vint
 Des qu'au darrien se maintint
 En Dieu servir par grant vigor
 Qu'onques ne lascha sa rigor
 Ne de bien faire ne recrut,
 20 Mais sa bonté chascun jor crut,
 E ausi vieuz con jovenciaus
 Estoit toz jorz frois e noviaus,
 E de vertu vint a telsome
 Con done graignor Dieus a home.
 24a Ne gasta pas ses jorz en vain,
 24b Proposement ot bon e sain,
 24c E jusqu'en la fin le garda,
 24d Car de mal faire se tarda
 24e E de bien faire ot sain talent,
 24f Ne l'en vit nus ne las ne lent.

16 T d. si se m. — 17 T s. de bon amor — 18 T n'en l.
 sa vigor — 20 C M.la b. — 22 T j. fers e — 23 T v. uient
 — 24 T greignor done — 24a-24f C *only*

25 Mainte chose fist molt loable,
 Maint ame toli au diable.

25 C Molte c. f. bien l.

MONTE CASSINO 13405-412 AND 13391-392

13391 Mais onques nel vout laisier
 13392 De Dèu servir, de Deu proier.

13405 Ne gaste pas ses jors en vain;
 Proposement ot bon et sain
 Et dusqu'en la fin le garda,
 Car de mal faire se garda,
 Et le bien ot si en talent,
 13410 Ne l'en vit nul ne las ne lent.
 Mainte cose molt . . . loable,
 Mainte ame tolli al diable.

REMARKS

The *Historia* begins this passage with: *Multas prius animas hominum diabolo surripuit, et Deo salvandas obtulit*, to which correspond T and C 25-26 (C^{as} 411-12). In the original version these lines no doubt preceded 15-24f, but the agreement of Y and C^{as} in giving them their present position indicates that the transposition occurred early.

After the first sentence of the Latin there is a substantial passage which has no counterpart in the French verse, but of which various elements are reproduced in Pr. Pr thus furnishes evidence that the French metrical version has here undergone reduction. This early cut in the text furnished the occasion for the transposition of 25-26, which probably at first stood, as in the Latin, at the head of the passage, but which were moved down and brought into contact with line 27 (*infra*, Division IV), also beginning with the word *maint*.

It would be futile to attempt a reconstruction of the passages of the original metrical version for which we have only the text of *Historia* and of Pr; so, both here and in further instances of a similar character still to be considered, I

merely call attention to the alteration that has taken place.

When C^{as} undertook the fusion of the ending of the B&J with the Cambrai version, the first new element attracting his attention was the dating of Josaphat's life-history. This he included, but what followed in 15-24 seemed largely a repetition of matter already present in the Cambrai version, and he discarded it, simply utilizing 17-18 as material for a couplet (13391-92) which he placed, as a bridge, between the termination of *PC and the dating-passage.

C^{ar} 24a-24f seem hardly more than a development of 15-24, but the lines are also in C^{as} and reproduce the *usque in finem* and *servans promptitatem* of L; consequently they should be included in the text of the Anonymous B&J.

IV.— T 83.4.27—83.4.36 and 84.1.25-26

HISTORIA

P.353.— Denique tali peracta conversatione, et ita dignam sua vocatione operationem retribuens ei qui se vocavit, crucifigens mundum sibi et seipsum mundo, in pace ad Deum pacis vadit, et ad eum quem desideravit semper proficiscitur Dominum, et vultui Domini nitide et munde praesentatur, illiusque gloriae jam ante promissa sibi corona exornatur, et Christum cernere dignus efficitur, et cum Christo esse mereatur, Christi decore semper exultat. Cujus in manus animam suam commendans, in viventium transmigravit regionem, ubi sonus epulantium, ubi laetantium omnium habitatio.

PROSE B&J

Fo.19.4.— [Et tant mena sainte vie] que Dieus l'en rendi le guerredon, car il l'apella a la loy^a de paradis et le corona de la precieuse corone de gloire qu'il apareille^b a ceus qui l'aient.

a. Pr₂ ioie — b. Pr₂ apareilla

TOURS AND CARPENTRAS

- 83.4.27 Maint bon essample nos mostra,
 Totes ores bien se prova,
 Tant qu'a la fin vint de sa vie.
- 30 Quant ot issi tote acomplie
 Sa sainte conversacion
 En veraie confession,
 E es mains Dieu s'ame a rendue,
 Angele qui l'orent atendue
- 35 O grant joie l'en ont portee
 En la celestiel contree.
-

- 84.1.25 Loez en soit li verais Dieus
 26 Quant si hauz hom puet estre tieus.

27 C n. dona — 28 C Tot adés en b.s. torna — 29 C T. que
 la fins v. — 30 T Q. issi tote a. — 33 T Es mains — 34 T
 Qui molt bien estoit asolue — 35 C l'en n'ont — 84.1.25-26
 T *only* — 25 T Loé en a le vrai deus — 26 T haut non p.

MONTE CASSINO 13413-428

- Maint bon example nos mostra.
 Totes hores la voie entra
- 13415 Dont ne revient nus, et transi
 Au reigne Deu, qu'il ama si.
 Loés en soit il, li haus Deus,
 Qant si haus om puet estre teus,
 Qui se mena si par savoir
- 13420 Q'a pecié nel pot esmouvoir
 Aise ne lius se lui pleüst,
 Se li maus faire li pleüst.
 Regart doit prendre a la sainte ame
 Qui haus om est u haute dame,
- 13425 Que son pooir a mal ne mete;
 De rien nule ne s'entremete
 Qui li tort a honteus mescief
 Dont ait blasme honteus ne grief.

REMARKS

The Latin text is made up of two sentences, each one relating Josaphat's death and entrance into heaven. This duplica-

tion would seem to have been preserved by the translator, and the effort to eliminate it is the probable starting point of the marked divergence of the French texts. The duplication in the narrative has in every instance disappeared, but Y, C^{as}, and Pr have each retained some element of the original which is absent from the others¹.

The moralizing application in C^{as} (419-28) is probably to be attributed, as a whole or else in part (423-28), to the C^{as} redactor. At first sight, 417-18 might also seem an interpolation. The couplet, however, is present in T: not at this point, but as a part of ten lines (84.1.21-30) which appear to be fragments left over and misplaced during a process of reworking. In the original, the couplet probably intervened between the two accounts of the death.

If the original poem followed the order of the Latin, it began this passage with T 29-32. T 27-28 has a correspondent in C^{as} 413-14, where it forms an integral part of 413-16, lines which are assured by their points of accord with the *Historia*. Thus lines 27-28 must originally have followed 29-32. At the time when the shortening took place in this and the preceding passage (*supra*, Division III), three lines beginning with *maint* were brought together by the moving forward of one couplet (83.4.25-26) and the moving back of a second (83.4.27-28).

In place of attempting a complete reconstruction, I give in their proper sequence the elements which were a part of the Anonymous B&J. This text followed 24a-24f, line 29 completing line 24f. Notice that the reading in C^{as} 413-414 eliminates the *rime pauvre* of C and T 27-28.

Denique tali	29	Tant qu'a la fin vint de sa vie.
peracta con-	30	Quant ot issi tot acomplie
versatione,	31	Sa sainte conversacion,

1. Y 30-31 : *Quant ot issi tote acomplie/Sa sainte conversacion* = *Denique tali peracta conversatione*; also cf. Y 33-36 with the second sentence of L. — C^{as} 413-16 : *e transi/Au reigne Deu qu'il ama si* = *et ad eum quem desideravit semper proficiscitur Dominum*. — Pr : *le corona de la precieuse corone de gloire* = *gloriae...corona exornatur*.

et ita dignum sua vo-	32	En veraie confession
catione operationem	
retribuens ei qui se	
vocavit...,	413	Maint bon essample nos mostra.
in pace ad Deum pacis	414	Totes ores la voie entra
vadit, et ad eum quem	415	Dont ne revient nus e transi
desideravit semper pro-	416	Al regne Dieu qu'il ama si.
ficiscitur Dominum...,		
illiusque gloriae jam	Pr	Dieus... le corona de la pre-
ante promissa sibi co-		cieuse corone de gloire.
rona exornatur...		
	417	Loez en soit li verais Dieus
	418	Quant si hauz hom puet estre
		tieus!]
Cujus in manus animam	33	[Des qu']es mains Dieu s'ame
suam commendans, in vi-		a rendue,]
ventium transmigravit re-	34	Angele qui l'orent atendue
gionem, ubi sonus epulan-	35	O grant joie l'en ont portee
tium, ubi laetantium om-	36	En la celestiel contree.
nium habitatio.		

V. — T 84.1.1—84.3.12

HISTORIA

P.353. — *Preciosum vero corpus illius quidam vir sanctus, qui habitationem non procul ab eo fecerat, qui ad Barlaam iter illi prius ostenderat, divina quadam edoctus revelatione, ipsa hora ejus dormitionis advenit, et sacris laudibus honorificans illum, lachrymasque effundens, signum erga illum dilectionis, et omnia alia perficiens, quae Christianis sunt legitima, in sepulchro patris Barlaam posuit eum. Nam decebat eorum simul esse corpora [354] in terra, quorum in coelis perreniter erant animae junctae. Praecepto etiam ejus terribili per visionem fortiter illum in mente contestantis, acquiescens eremita qui eum sepelierat, ad regnum Indorum pergere contendit, et ad regem Barachiam pervenit, omniaque sibi manifesta de beato Iosaphat facit. Ille autem non negligens, ilico pergit cum multitudo magna et virtute, et ad speluncam pervenit. Monumentum aspicit, et superlachrymatus tollit operculum,*

et videt Barlaam, et Iosaphat, habentes membra secundum proprietatem speciei utriusque posita, et corpora nil a priore colore immutata, sincera vero et omnino integra cum suis indumentis. Tunc illa sanctarum animarum tabernacula multam odoris suavitatem emittebant nihil penitus foeditatis retinentia. Quae rex in thecis speciosis reposita, in suam reportavit patriam.

Ut autem ad aures pervenit populi quod factum fuerat, multitudo innumerabilis ex omnibus civitatibus et in circuitu regionibus ad adoranda et videnda beatorum illorum virorum corpora confluebant honorifice, cum hymnis et canticis, et lampadibus ac caereis ardentibus. Unde quidam ibi congruenter satis et valde idonee dixit : Luminaria circa [355] luminis filios et haeredes. Splendide vero simul et magnifice in ecclesia, quam Iosaphat ab ipsis fundamentis erexerat, deposita sunt corpora. Plurima ergo miracula et sanitates in translatione et depositione, et deinceps per sanctos suos famulos operatus est Christus, ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui.

PROSE B&J

Fo. 19. 4. — Uns prodrom avoit pres de la celle Josaphas cui Dieus revela la fins de son saint trespasement; et c'estoit cil qui (1) li^a avoit ensaigñié la voie dont il avoit trové Balaam. Cil vint a son definement et molt tendrement plora de pidié, et l'enseveli et li randi tot le servise qu'il covint a bon crestiein. Entre lui et Balaam son mestre n'orent qu'une soule sepulture. Ensi con Dieus le vost, uns molt biaux hom s'aparut une nuit en vision au saint home qui avoit enfoÿ^b Josaphas et li comanda al plus aspremant qu'il pot qu'il s'en alast en Ynde vitemant au roy Barachie et li deïst que Josaphas estoit [20. 1] trespassez. Cil i ala inellemant et l'enoncza au roy Barachie^c. Li rois ne fut pas negliganz, ainz atorna tantost son oirre, ne ne sejorna tant qu'il vint a la fosse, si la fist descovrir, et vit les .ii. cors sainz l'un lez l'autre. Lors biautez n'estoit de^d rien

a. Pr₂ l' — b. Pr₂ qui amoit en foi — c. Pr₂ omits et li deïst... 'enoncza au roy B. — d. Pr₂ omits de

changié. De lurs cors isoit une oudours^e plus douce de pimant que^f toz enbasma ceus qui la estoient venu. Li rois fit prandre les cors sanz et les fit metre en vaisseus precieus, et les en fit porter en son païs et molt lor porta grant reverance. Totes les genz acuroient encontre et honoroient^s molt le[s] cors sainz. En l'esglise meismes furent^h mis que Josaphas avoit fait faire; et molt fut adonc l'esglise honoree de lampes et de lumiereⁱ; et, por demontrer^j l'amur que Dieus avoit a ceus .i.i. sainz, donc^k dona Deus a mains homes^l et a maintes femes^m santé de diverses maladies. Li avogle i alumoientⁿ, li contrait i redreçoient, li paralitique i recevoient santé.

e. Pr₂ u. grande o. — *f.* Pr₂ ki — *g.* Pr₂ honnererent — *h.* Pr₁ fut — *i.* Pr₂ luminaires — *j.* Pr₂ moster — *k.* Pr₂ sains donné — *l.* Pr₂ maint home — *m.* Pr₂ mainte feme — *n.* Pr₂ enluminoient

TOURS AND CARPENTRAS

84.1.1 Uns sainz hom de religion,
 Qui pres de lui ot mansion
 E le leu mostré li avoit
 O Barlaan trover devoit,
 5 Par le devin commandement
 I est venuz isnelement.
 Le saint home voit ou il gist,
 Encor sembloit que il dormist.

1 C *no paragraph.* — 2 C ot sa maison; T p. d'iluec — 3 T Qui l. l. moster li deuoit — 6 C *ends here, the remainder of the manuscript having been destroyed* — 21-30 T :

 E de ce molt s'esmerveilla
 Quant Barlaan antier trova
 Que de son cors n'ot rien malmis
 Plus que le jor qu'il i fu mis
 25 Loe an a le vrai deus
 Quant si haut non puet estre teus
 Dont a deu le roi celestre
 Que li hermites li sainz prestre
 Qui de cors ot enseveli
 30 Dont avons ore parlé ci

- Desor le cors a molt ploré,
 10 A son pooir l'a anoré,
 E tot li fait, n'en laisse rien,
 Quanqu'on doit faire a crestien.
 Quant faite li ot sa droiture,
 En meïsme la sepulture
 15 Saint Barlaan a le cors mis.
 Ne vot des cors a[s] deus amis
 En terre faire dessevrance,
 Dont les ames sont sanz dotance
 En pardurable socité
 84.1.20 En la celestiel cité.
 84.1.31 Quant ot tot fait e atorné,
 Il n'a la gaires sejoiné,
 Car en Inde aler l[i] estuet.
 Vision de Dieu li esmuet,
 35 Qui durement li a enjoint
 Qu'il ne delait nes un sol point,
 84.2.1 Mais aut tost au roi Barachie
 E cel afaire tot li die,
 Con Josaphaz estoit finez.
 Li moines est acheminez
 5 E tant a fait qu'en Inde vient,
 La ou li rois molt grant cort tient.
 Si dist ce qu'il li a rové
 E ne l'a mie trop trové
 Ne pereceus ne negligent,
 10 Mais maintenant o molt grant gent
 S'en est alez tresqu'al desert.
 Le monument a descovert,
 Les amis voit gesir ensemble,
 Qui se dormoient, ce li semble.
 15 Li cors entier encor i jurent
 Si con le jor que mis i furent.
 Une douçors lor vient as nes
 Qui des cors issoit si soés
 Qu'a icele odor ne se prent
 20 Ne de baume ne de piment.
 En beles chasses, bel e gent
 Aornees d'or e d'argent,

2 T E c. a. tost — 19 T Qui a celle o. — 24 T O b. c. —

22 T E aornees

- Mist les cors sainz, ainz les baisa,
 En son païs portez les a.
- 25 Quant par la terre fu seü,
 De par tot sont tuit esmeü
 O granz torbes e o granz rotes.
 Les citez e les viles totes
 Des habitanz vuides remainent.
- 30 Encontre vont e molt se painent
 Des amis Dieu anorer tuit.
 Ne s'en partent ne jor ne nuit
 E portent cierges en lor mains,
 O chandoiles ardanz au mains.
- 35 O grant anor e o grant feste,
 En une eglise molt honeste
- 84.3.1 Que Josaphaz ot faite ançois
 Endementiers que il ert rois,
 Ont mis le cors sor un ciboire
 Qui fu faiz d'argent e d'ivoire.
- 5 Qui porroit dire ne conter
 Con granz vertuz a l'aporter
 A Damedieus por els mostrees?
 Car de par totes les contrees
 I venoient li langoreus,
- 10 E Damedieus a toz por eus
 Rent lor santé en tel maniere
 Que il s'en vont tuit sain arriere.

23 T c. mains a. — 34 T andanz

MONTE CASSINO 13429-458 AND 13465-470

- A l'obseque de mort furnir
- 13430 Fist Deus .i. ermite venir,
 Qui l'atorna, quil mist en tere
 O Barlehen, car de Deu quere
 Compaignon avoient esté,
 Por che l'un a l'autre a josté.
- 13435 Encor fist Dieus a cel ermite
 En Inde aler; novele a dite
 De Jozaphas a Baracie,
 Qui rois estoit. Grant compaignie
 Prent cil de gent, lors si se muet;
- 13440 D'aler s'exploite quanqu'il puet.

- Desqu'a la fosse est parvenus.
 De plourer ne s'est pas tenus
 Et por dolor et por pitié,
 Q'a lui ot molt grant amistié
 13445 Com a celui quil courouna
 Qant le roiaume li douna.
 Quant li sepucres fu overs,
 A iols qu'il orent descovers
 Sont li baron reconneü;
 13450 Entier et sain i sont venu,
 Souef olant, nient malmis,
 Con se le jor i furent mis.
 En vaisiaus qui a çou sont fait
 Li rois ans .ii. metre les fait;
 13455 En son país les porte ariere.
 D'encens i fu grans la fumiere
 Et de ciergres grant luminaire
 13458 Si que molt bien le dut on faire.
 13465 Mis unt le cors en celle iglise
 Qui faite fu par sa devise
 En l'onnor Deu le creator;
 Et de lonc et d'iluec entor
 Maint malade i ont ammené
 13470 Qui tot s'en ralerent sané.

REMARKS

C^{as} 429-58 and 465-70 (=36 lines) represent 74 lines of Y¹. In contrast with the other portions of the termination, there is absolutely no coincidence in the rimes and no line-for-line agreement. Lines 459-64 do show a linear and rime correspondence, but they constitute an episode which has been transferred to this place from the position farther on which they occupy in the Latin and in T.

The T version of 74 lines shows characteristic marks of the B&J translation of narrative passages, and there is no reason to hesitate in classing it as substantially the version of the original. Pr, wherever it throws any light, bears this out.

1. Since C^{ar} breaks off at the sixth line of this passage, only T is available for the constitution of the remaining portion of Y.

The question of chief interest is whether the passage as it stands in C^{as} represents (a) a reworking of the B&J by the C^{as} redactor, or (b) a surviving fragment of an original Cambrai termination the remainder of which has been lost, or (c) a reworking to be attributed to a B&J redactor and present in the manuscript utilized by C^{as}.

That this piece of composition originated with the C^{as} redaction seems wholly improbable. The passage is terse and well constructed, while the two passages in which the redactor who linked it to the Cambrai version attempted independent composition (13399-404 and 13419-28) give no indication of any skill. The other alternatives require more detailed examination. The material contained in these lines could, save as below specified, be either a reworking of the B&J text or a version derived from the Latin thru an independent channel, such as Gui de Cambrai's translation. We therefore need to examine such individual lines as may yield some testimony.

1) In C^{as} 442-43, Barachie is represented as weeping at the tomb, a detail absent from T but corresponding to the *superlachrymatus* of the Latin. This is of little weight, for the detail may have been in the original B&J¹, since, as we have seen, T has undergone various reductions, and since this is a type of detail in the *Historia* which the B&J normally reproduces. But even if it was never present in the B&J, it would be so natural to portray Barachie as weeping at the tomb of his patron and regal predecessor that a mere coincidence could occasion its reappearance in C^{as}.

2) C^{as} 447-52 could equally well be based on the Latin text or on T 84.2.12-18². In T, however, there appears in a previous passage a set of ten lines (84.1.21-30) that represent certain elements in T which had in some way become displaced and which then were roughly recast or modified in an

1. See *infra*, p. 77, note I.

2. Line 448, which has no counterpart in the *Historia* or the B&J, seems to be merely a rime-filler.

unsuccessful effort to fit them into their new position. In this displaced passage we have already, by the aid of C^{as}, identified lines 25-26 as belonging between T 83.4.32 and 83.4.33, and lines 21-24 are manifestly a variant of T 84.2.15-16. This couplet (15-16) is in turn the passage to which lines 450-52 of C^{as} are parallel. Now the variant which occurs in T 84.1.21-24 shows a verbal and a rime concordance with C^{as} 450-52 sufficient to link up definitely the C^{as} reading with T¹. This passage is thus an evidence that C^{as} 13429ff. were already in one of the versions of the Anonymous B&J.

3) Further evidence is furnished by C^{as} 465-67, where all the texts relate that Josaphat was interred in the church which he had built when he took the throne. C^{as} reads: *Mis unt le cors en celle iglise/Qui faite fu par sa devise/En l'onnor Deu le creator*. Now the last of these lines has at this point no correspondent in the other texts, nor does it occur in Gui de Cambrai's mention (9717-19) of the construction of the church. In the B&J, the account of the construction of the church occurs in the section for which we have the text of all three B&J manuscripts, and where the Latin has: *In medio autem civitatis templum magnum et speciosum Domino aedificat Christo*. Here T reads: *Il establît an mi la ville/Une eglise grant e nobile/En l'onor deu le salveor* (65.3.13-15; B *El non de nostre sauveor*; C^{ar} *En l'onor del grant sauveor*). It is manifest that whoever composed C^{as} 465-67 had in his memory the wording employed by the Anonymous B&J at an earlier point in the poem. If the C^{as} passage had formed a part of the Cambrai version, the composer would surely have been unfamiliar with the B&J wording; if the passage was a reworking by the C^{as} redactor, it is hardly likely that he would have recalled

1. T 21-24: *E de ce molt s'emerveilla/Quant Barlaan antier trova/Que de son cors n'ot rien malmis/Plus que le jor qu'il i fut mis*; C^{as} 450-52: *Entier et sain i sont venu,/Souef otant, nient malmis,/Con se le ior i furent mis*.

a stray line from the part of the B&J which he did not otherwise utilize; but if the passage is due to a B&J redactor, the reminiscence was a perfectly natural one.

4) In 468-70, C^{as} clearly suggests elements of T 8-12 which are not expressed in the Latin. C^{as}: *Et de lonc et d'iluec entor/Maint malade i ont ammené/Qui tot s'en ralerent sané*; T: *Car de par totes les contrees/I venoient li langoreus,/E Damedieus a toz por eus/Rent lor santé en tel maniere/Que il s'en vont tuit sain arriere*; L: *Plurima ergo miracula et sanitates in translatione et depositione, et deinceps per sanctos suos famulos operatus est Christus*.

5) Between lines 458 and 465 of the condensed and reworded section, there have been inserted six lines transferred from a point farther on, and these six lines accord with the wording of T for the later passage¹. This intermingling of the condensed section with an indisputable B&J passage constitutes a slight — but only a slight — confirmation of the solidarity of the section with a B&J redaction.

6) Neither Gui de Cambrai nor any of the manuscripts which preserve his work show any feeling against *rimes pauvres*, while in 13429-70, just as in the original of the Anonymous B&J, *rimes pauvres* are avoided, and *rimes riches* are given preference over even *rimes suffisantes*².

To sum up: in C^{as} 13429-70 we have a fairly free type of rendering not out of keeping with the methods of Gui de Cambrai, and we have a mention of weeping at a point where it tallies with a word of the *Historia* which has no counterpart in T. On the other hand, we have two passages (451-52;

1. T 84.3.13-18; see *infra*, p. 80.

2. In 13429-70 there is no *rime pauvre* (unless *venu*: *reconeu* be so accounted), and no masculine rime of polysyllabic words is limited to being *suffisante*. In 2000 lines of the Cambrai version (73-2073), there are 64 couplets ending in a single vowel; of these 33 have *rime pauvre*. For couplets ending in a diphthong, the proportion of *rimes pauvres* is greater still; for example, *-ié* final occurs in 16 couplets; 15 of them have *rime pauvre*. Similarly, passages which we attribute to the redactor of *PC (*supra*, Chapter IV, pp. 28-29) furnish numerous instances of *rime pauvre*.

468-70) which are modeled on lines present in T, and one line (467) which echoes a passage that had occurred far away in the body of the B&J text. We have further six lines from the B&J which are embodied within 429-70. Finally, the rime system of 429-70 accords with that of the B&J and differs from that of the Cambrai version. The evidence is preponderant that the lines go back to a redaction of the Anonymous B&J.

The wording of Pr shows sufficient agreement with that of Y to indicate that there is a general conformity of T with the original. Occasionally there is phraseology suggesting the Latin text but absent from Y¹. Y has therefore probably to some extent modified the text, but the changes are distinctly less radical than in the sections previously discussed.

VI. — T 84.3.13—84.4.14

. HISTORIA

P. 355. — Et vidit rex et omnis turba, virtutes quae per eos fiebant. Et plurimae gentes quae erant in circuitu, infidelitate languentes et Dei ignorantia, per ea quae ad sepulchrum fiebant signa crediderunt. Et omnes videntes et audientes angelicam Iosaphat conversationem, et a pueritia inaestimabilem ejus ad Deum amorem, mirabantur, glorificantes in omnibus Deum, qui cooperatur indulgentibus se, et in maximis illos glorificat donis et virtutibus.

Huc usque finis praesentis laboris, quem secundum virtutem meam scripsi, sicut accepi a venerabilibus viris, qui

1. (a) Pr: ... cui *Dieus revela la fins de son saint trespasement; et c'estoit cil qui li avoit ensaignié la voie dont il avoit trové Balaam. Cil vint a son definement*; L: ... *qui ad Barlaam iter illi prius ostenderat, divina quadam edoctus revelatione, ipsa hora ejus dormitionis advenit*; Y (84.1.3-6): *E le leu mostré li avoit/O Barlaan trover devoit, Par le devin commandement/I est venuz isnelement*. — (b) Pr: *a la fosse*; L: *ad speluncam*; Y (84.2.11): *al desert*. — As already remarked (*supra*, pp. 74-75), C^{as} 442 and C^{as} 450-52 + T 84.1.21-24 point to further variation of Y from the original. It is likely that 84.2.11-16, in their earlier form, accorded with C^{as} to the extent of preserving 441-42, which reproduce the *ad speluncam* and *superlachrymatus*, and of having the rime words of 451-52, which find support in T.

veraciter illum tradiderunt mihi. Contingat igitur vobis legentibus et audientibus utilem animarum narrationem ut in parte sanctorum qui ab initio placuerunt Domino computari mereamur, precibus, et intercessione Barlaam et Iosaphat beatorum, de quibus est narratio, in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui est decus, honor, (356) et imperium, gloria et magnificentia, cum patre et spiritu sancto, nunc et semper, et in secula seculorum: Amen.

PROSE B&J

Fo. 20.1. — Sifaisoit Dieus si apertes vertus par^a ces cors sainz que li rois et tuit i creoient. Neïs li paien qui manoient illuec pres^b, qui onques n'avoient Deu creü ne receü baptesme, se convertirent a nostre loy por les grant miracles^c qu'il virent. Et cil qui sorent la sainte vie que Josaphas avoit menee glorifioient nostre seigneur et looient que si belles merites randoit a ses amis des paines qu'il avoient sofertes por s'amur, quant il por aux faisoit si aut miracles et si apers^d qu'il chaçoit fors l'eresie^e des cuers des paiens et les ramenoit^f a foy et a creance. Ci faut la vie des .ii. sainz homes. Or prions nostre^g seigneur que cil qui la lironet et l'escriront^h en tel maniere l'oient et lisent et escrient et entendent qu'il lor tort au salut etⁱ au profit de lor armes. Et ce nos outroit li peres et li filz et li sainz esperiz. Amen.

a. Pr₁ D. si a par ses uertus par; Pr₂ D. apertes uertus pour — *b.* Pr₁ qui uenoient iqui — *c.* Pr₂ uertus — *d.* Pr₂ si hautes m. et si apertes — *e.* Pr₂ chacoient f. le diable — *f.* Pr₂ et reuenoient — *g.* Pr₂ a nostre — *h.* Pr₂ et escriront — *i.* Pr₂ omits au salut et

TOURS

84. 3. 13 Molt granz pueples ilueques vint.
Cil cui de Josaphaz sovint

15 Quels rois il fu, com amiables
Tant com o els fu conversables,
Ses granz bontez en avant mistrent ;
Ja mais n'iert dit quanque il distrent.

- Maint païen qui encore furent
 20 Par le païs i acorurent,
 As miracles que il oïrent,
 E de par Dieu tant en i virent,
 Converti sont e baptisié,
 El non celui saintefié
 25 Cui anors, cui los, cui empires
 Plus que ne soffiroit mes dires
 E a duré e durera,
 Qui morz e vis toz jugera
 Au jor de son grant parlement, —
 30 O sainz Espriz toz nos ament, —
 Qui vit e regne e regnera
In seculorum secula.
 Por celui doivent tuit proier
 Clerc e borjois e chevalier —
 35 Soit evesques o clers o prestre,
 Dieus li otroit l'amor celestre ! —
 84.14.1 Qui de cez deus mist en memoire
 La vie, la mort e l'estoire;
 Molt a bien employé sa paine.
 Pensé i a mainte semaine,
 5 Estudié maintes vesprees
 E veillié plusors matinees.
 Or prion Dieu qu'il vive a aise
 E que s'oroison a Dieu plaise
 E que s'ame soit en remire
 10 E en repos e sanz martire
 Au jor qu'ele devïera
 E que del cors se partira.
 Amen, respondez environ,
 E puis *pater noster* diron.

Explicit de Barlaan e Josaphas.

Que Deus nos maint a bon trespas !

25 T c. amors c. nos — 26 T soffirent — 3 T *Lines 3 and 4 are transposed*; see *supra*, Chapter 1, p. 4. — 5 T E. ia m.v.

MONTE CASSINO 13459-464 AND 13471-482

- Molt grans pueples encontre vint.
 13460 Cil qui de Josaphas sovint
 Quels om il fu, com amiables
 Tant com o els fu conversables,
 A teil joie le recuellirent,
 13464 Ja mais n'iert dit çou qu'il en firent.
 13471 Maint paiien qui encor i furent
 Entor le païs acoururent
 As miracles que il oïrent;
 Par le grase Deu tant en virent,
 13475 Converti sont et baaptisié,
 El non celui saintefié
 Cui onnors, cui nons, cui empires
 Plus que ne souferoit mes dires
 Et a duré et duerra,
 13480 Qui mors et vis tos jugera
 Al jor de son grant jugement,
 U sa pitiés tos nos ament.

AMEN

Explicit

de Barleham et de Josaphas.

REMARKS

C^{as} has line for line¹ this passage as far as 84.3.30, including 84.3.13-18, located by C^{as}; however, slightly earlier in the text (459-64). These six lines have no correspondent in L or in Pr, so we can not determine whether they were in the original. At any rate, the accord between T and C^{as} indicates that they were already present in an early redaction.

1. C^{as} *encontre* for T (13) *ilueques* is a substitution which makes the sentence accord better with its different location in C^{as}. — The same is true of the differences between C^{as} 463-64 and T 17-18. — The *entor* of C^{as} 471-72 is closer to the Latin (*in circuitu*) and to Pr₂ than the *par* of T 20. — C^{as} 474 is hardly so satisfactory a reading as T 22. — The *nons* of C^{as} 477 was probably introduced from the preceding line. T (25) has *nos*, in the place of which I read *los* (L *decus*). — The *souferoit* of C^{as} 478 furnishes the correction for T(26) *soffirent*. — The *jugement* of C^{as} 481 (T 29 *parlement*) is a variation to be attributed to the influence of the preceding rime word. — Since the *spiritus sanctus* is named in the Latin, *sainz espriz* (T 30) is preferable to *sa pitiés* (C^{as} 482).

The absence from C^{as} of the closing passage (84.3.33-36, 84.4.1-14) is no indication that it was missing from his manuscript of the Anonymous B&J, for C^{as} would naturally omit it as conflicting with Gui de Cambrai's authorship.

The deviation in this closing section (84.3.13ff.) of Pr from T is distinctly more marked than at any other point in the text of the poem. In only one sentence is there any verbal equivalence, and this is not of such a character as to exclude absolutely its being due to a coincidence in translation from the Latin ¹. Further, Pr contains various elements of the Latin text which are missing in the verse. Did Pr, at the very end, turn directly to a Latin manuscript ² and translate independently, or had this closing passage been reworked in the common source of T and C^{as}? In previous passages we have seen instances in which a similar substantial reworking has evidently occurred. In the present case the accessible material does not warrant an attempt to decide between the alternatives. We should, however, naturally incline to the assumption that we have here a further occurrence of the phenomenon elsewhere observed.

1. Pr : *Neïs li païen... se convertirent... par les grant miracles qu'il virent*; T (19-23) and C^{as} (471-75) : *Maint païen... as miracles que il oïrent... converti sont*; L : *Et plurimæ gentes... infidelitate languentes... per ea quæ ad sepulchrum fiebant signa crediderunt*.

2. There is no similarity between the ending of Pr and of the French prose translation which was based directly upon the Latin. For the text of the ending in this translation, see Zotenberg and Meyer, *Barlaam und Josaphat*, pp. 350-52.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

All or some part of the text of the Anonymous *Barlaam et Josaphat* is preserved in three manuscripts; a short section of it is embodied in the Monte Cassino manuscript of Gui de Cambrai's work; and a prose version is represented by two manuscripts. The Carpentras and Tours manuscripts go back to the same redaction; the Besançon manuscript, the Monte Cassino passage, and the prose version are derived from redactions distinct from the Carpentras-Tours version and from each other. The Gui de Cambrai poem is represented by three manuscripts, all closely interrelated and all from the Cambrai district.

The text of Gui de Cambrai, as constituted by Appel, contains two dedicatory passages naming Gilles and Marie de Marquais as patrons, — one passage at the beginning and one near the end, the latter distinctly tepid in its praise of Gilles, — and includes various digressions condemning all the upper classes of society and containing personal allusions to prominent contemporary leaders in church and state; it also accords in its termination with the ending of the Latin text. The indications are, however, that Gui's work contained a single, and entirely laudatory, dedication located in the prologue; that none of the digressions were present, and that the account of the death and burial of Josaphat was not written by Gui.

Gilles, the patron of the work, was seigneur of Marquais in Vermandois, and was apparently the second of the three successive members of the family whom we know to have borne the name of Gilles. His wife Marie was presumably Marie de Haplaincourt. The seigneurs of Marquais were vavasors who held their fief indirectly from the king, their immediate suzerain being the seigneur of Athies. At the be-

ginning of the thirteenth century the Marquais family was wealthy and locally important, with a record of liberality to the church.

The dedication was composed between 1186 and 1220, almost certainly later than 1209 and probably soon after the battle of Bouvines in 1214.

The wording of the dedication renders it likely that the Barlaam and Josaphat was composed at the direct behest of Gilles or Marie. The form which Gui de Cambrai gave to his praise of the couple may be due in part to events connected with the battle of Bouvines and in part to an association of the Marquais family with the pilgrimage shrine of Moyenpont hard by their manor.

Certain surface indications might seem to cast some doubt upon the authenticity of the attribution of the Barlaam and Josaphat to Gui de Cambrai, but such a doubt is not substantiated by a closer examination of the text. The two passages where his name occurs are, in their present location, interpolations, but have merely undergone a transfer from an original position in the prologue.

The poem was either left unfinished by its author or else at an early date lost its concluding pages. This incomplete form was thereafter edited by a writer who made a futile attempt to add a passable ending, and who rearranged and supplemented the material. This he did partly as a mask for the brusque termination, but particularly in order to weave into the theme his severe judgement of his contemporaries.

It is quite possible that the author of this redaction was a member of the Cistercian order; it is wholly probable that, like his predecessor and like the writers of the extant manuscripts, his home center was Cambrai.

The Paris manuscript preserves the ending which this redactor appended. The Monte Cassino scribe substituted for a portion of the unsatisfactory termination the closing section of a version of the Anonymous *Barlaam et Josaphat* and thus restored to the work its original Latin conclusion.

In the Anonymous *Barlaam et Josaphat* we have a translation from the Latin which shows fidelity to the theme, and to its spirit as a work of piety ; a translation, moreover, in which the author endeavored to render the original into smooth and artistic verse. The witnesses which remain to four distinct versions are testimony that the book obtained a hearing. On the other hand, Gui thought to attract a larger audience by adhering less closely to the *Historia*. He introduced classical allusion and medieval epic accessories, and, by his naming of himself and his designation of patrons for his poem, he maintained a less impersonal attitude toward his theme. Yet the three manuscripts all belong to one group and are restricted to his own locality. It would seem that the Anonymous *Barlaam et Josaphat* had a wider vogue than Gui de Cambrai's composition. If so, Gui's admixture of secular elements was not greeted as a success, or else the truncated condition of the more immediate source of the surviving manuscripts dates back to the basal Cambrai version.

In its initial stage, this study was suggested by the similarity between the terminations of the Monte Cassino manuscript and of the Anonymous *Barlaam et Josaphat*, but its main purpose has been to see what an attentive reading of the texts would add to our knowledge of their history and of the characteristics of their authors. If the gleanings are less abundant than might have been desired, it may well be that a more observant reader will yet add other and larger sheaves ¹.

1. In the correction of the proofs of this monograph Dr. W. S. Hastings and Mr. H. L. Humphreys have been particularly helpful, and in concluding I desire to express my appreciation of their aid.

APPENDIX

GUI DE CAMBRAI : *BALAHAM ET JOSAPHAS*

TEXT OF THE BRUSSELS FRAGMENTS

(Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 1215, first and last fly-leaves)

The text of these fragments is given as it stands in the manuscript, with the indication of the corresponding lines in the Appel edition. For details regarding the manuscript, see *supra*, Chapter II.

As the text is useful only for comparison with that of the other manuscripts, punctuation has not been supplied and readings that vary from P or C^{as}, or from both, are indicated by means of italics. Capitals have been introduced, and the abbreviations have been resolved, including *ꝛ*, which does not occur written out and which has been resolved as *et* to correspond with the Appel edition.

The text which now follows is so printed that each page corresponds to a column of the manuscript.

- 6465-6501

- 6465 Cil fisent les foles lois nestre
 Et si en sont et prince et mestre
 Or *esgardés* la fauseté
 S'il i a point de verité
- 6470 *Et d'iaus voel* primes ensegnier
- 6469 Li Caldeu furent li premier
 Confaitement se bestornerent
 As elemens qu'il aorerent
 Rices ymages lor ont faites
 Et ricement les ont portraites
- 6475 Il ont fait *dieu* de lor faiture
 Et plus cier ont *la* creature
 Que il n'aient *le* creator
 De l'or fondu font lor segnor
Tes dieus convient molt bien garder
- 6480 Quar on les puet molt bien enbler
 En *tel* *dieu* n'a point de raison
U on a *paor* de laron
 Cil dieus comment me puet socore
 Quant *soi meisme* ne puet rescore
- 6485 D'autrui moi sanble ne li caut
 Quant *il* tos premerains se faut
 En *teus* dieus n'a point de *raison*
Qui plain sont de corruption
 Et de molt poi sont corrunpu
- 6490 Dont ai je par raison veu
 Rien ne sevent ne rien ne valent
 Quant *tot premierement* se falent
 Et *saciés* bien cil n'est pas sages
 Qui lor fait *tenples* ne ymages
- 6495 Rois or venons *as* elemens
 Si soit oi devant tes gens
 Quel saintuare i puet avoir
 Et s'il en eus ont nul pooir
 Je di cil sont en fol error
- 6500 Qui del ciel font lor creator
 Quar n'i a point de deité
-

6505-6541

- 6505 Dont voel je dire et s'i ai droit
 Que cil est fols ki *en* ciel croit
 Et si est molt de mal afaire
 Quant il del ciel voet son dieu faire
 Cou *que* fait est raisnablement
- 6510 A fin et s'a commencement
 Et se dieus fine et dieus commence
 Ci a *et fort lime et* fort tence
 Et s'en doit on molt bien tencier
Que Dieus ne pot ainc commencer
- 6515 Ne *ja* Dieus ne comencera
 Ne ja mais *jor* ne finera
 Ne li ciols cois iestre ne puet
 O sa lumiere se remuet
 Car les estoiles *se* conportent
- 6520 De signe en signe se reportent
 Or se cocent selonc droiture
 Or renaissent *contre* nature
 Quar li tens i sont ordené
 Li uns d'ivier l'autres d'esté
- 6525 Si tornie *l'uns* ciols entor
L'uns tans amaine la calor
 L'autres le froit lonc son afaire
 Ce li covient a force faire
 Por cou pruis jou et s'i ai droit
- 6530 Que li ciols dieus iestre ne doit
 Uns des mestres est sus levés
 Ki molt *est* sages et letrés
 Or entent ca *en pais* sans guerre
 Ce tenons nos que dieus est tiere
- 6535 Si nel desdiras ja *ce* cuit
 Quar nos *vivomes* de son fruit
L'ierbe fait *naistre* et prés florir
 Et les *arbres* par tout foillir
 Et si nos rent a grant plenté
- 6540 Et pain et *vin et car* et blé
 Sans li ne *poriens* .i. jor vivre
-

6545-6581

- 6545 Nachor respont ne dis pas voir
 La terre a *molt poi* de pooir
 Car li home *li* font vergogne
 Assés sovent por *lor* besoigne
 Car il le fueent a grant paine
 6550 Et navrent u *ele est plus saine*
 Ne lor en prent nule *pitié*
 Quar il le marcent de lor *pié*
En mainte guise a desraison
 S'en prennent tout grant raencon
 6555 Il le *dehiecent* et *devisent*
En mainte guise le *debrisent*
 Et s'est sovent selonc m'entente
 De sanc vermel tainte et sanglente
 Et sepouture rest as mors
 6560 Qu'*ele* porist avoec les cors
 Et *se* puet bien issi morir
 Que fruis n'en puet ja mais issir
 Le semeor tenroie a sot
 Qui semeroit *desoz* .i. pot
 6565 Quar fruis ja mais n'en isteroit
 Por cou *pruis* je et s'i ai droit
 Que terre dieus iestre ne puet
 Quar voelle u non morir l'estuet
 Uns autres dont se releva
 6570 Qui molt avenanment parla
Pus que tu as raison mostree
 Que tiere n'iert mais apielee
 Dieus ne dieuesse par esgart
 Dont di je bien *tout par agart*
 6575 Que l'aigue est dieus certainement
Sel proverai raisnablement
 A toute gent a grant mestier
 Ét a laver et a baignier
 Et as puisons qu'*ele* nos done
 6580 En mainte guise s'abandone
 A porcacier a son pooir
-

6585-6621

- 6585 Nachor respont n'est pas issi
Ta mescreance t'a trai
L'aigue que ta langue tant prise
Est desous *l'ome a sa devise*
C'on le puet bien ensangler
6590 Et en autre coulor muer
S'est corrupue et mailentee
Et refroidie et engielee
Et s'en leve on toute *ordure*
Dont pruis je bien par escripture
6595 *Et* hautement le *vos* descuevre
Que n'est pas dieus anscois est s'uevre
Uns des autres rethoriens
Qui molt iert contre crestiens
Uns lons uns magres uns kenus
6600 Mais ricement estoit viestus
D'un samis et d'un siglaton
Et si estoit frere Platon
Rice capiel el chief avoit
En coroie terciés estoit
6605 Molt *iert* hideus en sa figure
La barbe *dusc'* a la cainture
Avoit *trecie* en maint reploi
Mais molt estoit de pute loi
Il regarde par grant orguel
6610 *Quar del sorcil afuble l'uel*
En son main tint .i. bastonciel
A l'atre afaite son capiel
Molt a parlé ireement
Di va fait il a moi entent
6615 Li feus est dieus ce ses tu bien
Ce sevent tout li crestien
Quar grant mestier sovent lor a
Ja nas icou ne *desdira*
A maint besoing *les gens* socort
6620 Et s'enbelist tant mainte cort
Quar il fait quire les mangiers
-

6625-6661

- 6625 Que li feus est dieus voirement
 Quar il secort tote la gent
 Nacor respont *atarge* un poi
 Ne *te* poist mie entent a moi
 Dieu fist le fu sans nul mentir
- 6630 Por cou qu'il *doit ome* siervir
 De liu en liu le puet porter
 Li om qui voet fu alumer
 Et s'en cuist on *toutes* les cars
 Je *te* di bien *c'est grans esgars*
- 6635 Se on poet faire dieu d'un keu
 Ce n'avint onques en nul leu
 Ne il *n'est* drois qu'ansi aviengne
 Maistres de dieu vos resoviengne
Dont ne puet on le fu estaindre
- 6640 C'est malvais dieus c'on puet destraindre
 Qui le *cuevre cil* le destraint
 Je ne sai rien *de dieu estaint*
Et por cou pruis je vraie raison
 Selonc la *bone* entension
- 6645 Que fus *n'iert* dieus ne *n'en iert ja*
 Mais nostre sires le cria
Varro qui *fu* molt boins gramaire
 Ses freres fu li rois Cesaire
 Qui Phinadelfe *sint* et *Sonte*
- 6650 S'est sus levés a icest conte
 Molt *estoit* sages et letrés
 Mais *molt* *estoit* desmesurés
 Quar en son sens tant se fioit
Que desmesure le decoit
- 6655 Sa langue a aguisier commence
 De sa main acene scilence
 Pus a parlé raisnablement
 Se tu *voes desdire* le vent
 Qu'il ne soit dieus jel *mosterei*
- 6660 Et par raison le *proverai*
 Tu tiens nos dieus en grant viltance
-

6665-6701 .

- 6665 Nule raison *n'i* ses mostrer
 Fors *que* nos dieus a vergonder
 Ne me desdiras ja del vent
 Qu'il ne soit dieus certainement
 Quar quant la terre est bien mollie
- 6670 Et *par la pluie* merguillie
 Li vens l'essue et le ratorne
 A la biauté qu'ele ot l'atorne
 Et quant les gens sont en esté
Par le caut tans *tot enbrasé*
- 6675 Li vens i vient por refroidier
 Dont dois tu bien par droit jugier
 Se tu raison ses que li vens
 Est dieus 'et uns des elemens
 Dieus est a certes si *le croi*
- 6680 Croire le dois par bone foi
 Amis ci n'a point de droiture
 Ci vas tu contre l'escripture
 Li vens fu fais et autrui siert
 Et cil mescroit et cil se piert
- 6685 Qui croit que ja dieus li vens soit
 Quar segnorie ne recoit
Et pus qu'il n'a nul segnorage
 Ancois fu fais *por* grant servage
 Et dieus ne puet siers devenir
- 6690 N'autrui ne *puet* en fin servir
 N'a dieu n'afiert n'a dieu *ne* monte
Que de servage ait ja nul honte
 Et por cou di k'iestre ne puet
Quar quant le vent *mouvoir* estuet
- 6695 Amenuisier et engregnier
 Dont di je bien ce n'a mestier
Ne nus devins *ne poroit* dire
Que nus des vens *soit* nostre sire
 Amalicons uns Indiens
- 6700 Qui molt iert contre crestiens
 A *icest* mot con hons iriés
-

6705-6741

- 6705 Molt iert crueus et ranprosnos
Et d'autre part iert molt iros
 Et si avoit asés de rente
Et s'il a Dieu eüst entente
 Et par clergié et par linage
- 6710 Eüst assés de segnorage
 Une chité ot en demaine
 Molt par avoit mise grant paine
 En retenir et en aprendre
 Et molt iert larges de despendre
- 6715 Molt estoit preus en mainte guise
Et del linage Saint Denise
 De la cort iert *siens li* dangiers
 Od lui avoit .c. chevaliers
 Qui en la cort *erent* od lui
- 6720 S'aucuns li vosist faire anui
 Il en presist cruel vengeance
 Por cou parole sans doutance
 Nachor a pris a laidengier
Par cou se cuide bien vengier
- 6725 Ce devons nos croire sans doute
Que ja nul jor ne veriens goute
 Se li solaus n'esclarcissoit
 Et lumiere ne nos dounoit
Ne ja nostre ouel *ne* nos aidascent
- 6730 Ne valussent ne porfitassent
 Se li solaus *en* sa maniere
 N'enluminast nostre lumiere
 Li jors en est enluminés
 N'autrement n'est jors ajornés
- 6735 Se la lumiere n'i ajorne
 Qui od le jor adiés *sejorne*
 Dont est tes argumens tous faus
 Se tu *ne* dis que li solaus
 Ne soit uns dieus tot par raison
- 6740 Ci n'a *point de* desputison
 Quar ce set on certainement
-

6905-6943

- 6905 A esgardé en son corage
Que li Caldieu qui ierent sage
Sont devenu mu et taisant
Levés s'en est en son estant
Le roi apiele par grant ire
6910 Biaux sire rois ne sai ke dire
Cist Caldieu ont molt bien parlé
Par Balahan sont refusé
Mais ne tenons pas une loi
Quar li Caldieu si con je croi
6915 Aorent tos les elemens
Et c'est uns bons entendemens
C'on les *aore* et c'on les *croie*
Mais cis diables nos *desvoie*
Or li covient *sa* langue esmolre
6920 Se il nos questions voet solre
Nos avons dieus et bien savons
6922 Que ce sont dieu que nos *creons*
6925 Et bien pueent tous ceus aidier
Qui lor voelent merchi proier
Si dirai voir il n'i a plus
L'uns de nos dieus est Saturnus
Cil doit iestre molt honorés
6930 Quar molt est grans sa *dignités*
Cil est sires des elemens
Cil a faites totes les gens
Cil est li dieus premierement
Qui forma tot li firmament
6935 Ovides dist el premier livre
Que Saturnus tout a delivre
Fist le siecle a sa conmandise
Por cou est tout a sa *devise*
Nachor respont *escoute* rois
6940 Con est aveule ceste lois
Li Griu tienent a grant folie
Cou qu'il croient de ceste vie
Et *d'eus font* ymages *jumieles*
-

7911-7949

- Qu'il par tout le trueve si sage
 Ses sens trespasse son eage
 Et la droiture de s'entente
 Ne respont *pas* a sa jovente
 7915 Tout li otrie quanqu'il violt
 Mais en partie molt se diolt
 De cou qu'il *est* en tel error
 Que il creoit el creator
 Esror *la* quide voirement
 7920 Mais il *dire* plus folement
 Et por cou que il pense et quide
 Que Nacor soit en grant estuide
 De son fil fors de sa *foi* mettre
 Por cou *se* voet bien entremettre
 7925 D'aconpaignier les conpaignons
 7926 Qui descopaignent en raisons
 7929 Nacor est alés avoec lui
 7930 Et li rois a molt grant anui
 De cou que si rethorien
 N'ont respondu negaires bien
 Josaphas va en son palais
 Nus plus joians *n'ira ja* mais
 7935 Por cou qu'il a le camp vencu
 Et par Nachor sont confondu
 Li mescreant qui ne savoient
 Confaitement il respondoient
 Cele jornee *lor* fu bele
 7940 Mais d'une part Nacor apele
 Bien sai fait il que tu n'ies mie
 Cil Balahans qui ceste vie
 Me preheca si boinement
 Ains ies Nacor tot *voirement*
 7945 Quises d'astrenomie assés
 De cou sui je granment irés
 Et *si* ai molt le sens mari
 Qui me quidas a miedi
 .I. leu por une brebis vendre
-

7953-7988

- De si haute desputison
 U n'ot mestier se grans sens non
 7955 Diva Nacor nel celer pas
 Tu ies molt sages a trespas
 Mais tes grans sens par tot t'enconbre
 Quar a plain jor se couce *en* ombre
 Tes sens est mors ce m'est avis
 7960 Quar en mort home s'est asis
 Tu muers en cou que tu ne crois
 Don *est* molt bone *ceste* lois
 Que hui cest jor as desfendue
 Ta monoie est tote abatue
 7965 *Ele* faut *par le* monier
 Qui le deuist *molt bien* forgier
 Ta monoie ce est tes sens
 Qui a perdu s'uevre et son tens
 D'iestre feru en son droit cuing
 7970 *C'as tu veu* assés de loing
 Mais ta veue est molt torblee
 Se par ton sens iert asensee
 Ta veue qui mais ne voit
 Dont revenroit *trestote* a droit
 7975 Droiture enseigne as droituriés
 Que clers doit iestre chevaliers
 Clers doit bien iestre por aprendre
 Et chevaliers por soi desfendre
 Clers por veir et por perceivre
 7980 Conment on le poroit decoivre
 Et chevaliers por percevance
 Por lui *oster fors* de *doutance*
 Clers por garder et por enbatre
 Et chevaliers por lui combatre
 7985 Vers ki vers les segnors d'infier
 Ja nus n'iert tant covers de fier
 Que diables n'ait *tele espee*
 Dont il trespierce sa pensee

7993-8028

- Viers* le dyable *hes* asaut
 Nachor cil sires te consaut
 7995 Por qui tu ies hui conbatus
 Mais tu meismes t'ies vencus
 En ta victorie voirement
 Se tes corages ne t'aprent
 A toi vaintre *tu* as perdue
 8000 La victorie *c'as hui* eue
 Tu as vencu et s'ies vencus
 Vencus en cou que confondus
 Seras se tu ne te repens
 Quar *esgarde* comment tu pens
 8005 A enscient t'ocis et piers
 Et si ses bien comment tu siers
 Tu siers de mal et si ses bien
Tes sens va contre ton engien
Tu ses molt bien *que* tu fais *mal*
 8010 Por cou te *pruis* a desloial
T'uevre qui *de* ton mal t'acuse
 Et *verités* comment refuse
 Le bien *son le* voet herbregier
 T'uevre te tient a mencoignier
 8015 *Verité* dis et mens en ouevre
 Ta mauvaistés bien se descuevre
 Quant tu ne fais cou que tu ses
 Amis c'est voirs tu ses assés
 Mais t'uevre ton savoir n'adaigne
 8020 Ta langue truis en toi brehaigne
 Quar tes cuers vait contre ton dit
 Qui maintes fois *a* contredit
 Cou que tes *cuers* te conmandoit
 De ton cuer ist et si decoit
 8025 Ton cuer et issi le bestorne
C'a mauvaistié *del tot* l'atorne
 De ton cuer naist si te traist
 Et ses tu que li vilains dist
-

8033-8068

- De mauvaistié as la saisine
Se tu n'*estrepes* la *rachine*
8035 Qui el cuer est enrachinee
Amis car *cierke* ta *contree*
Et si enquier selonc ton sens
Que molt est briés t'uevre et tes *sens*
Tu n'as nul terme de ta mort
8040 Se tu t'ocis tu avras tort
Molt par *est* griés ta penitance
Ne *peche pas* par *ignorance*
Quar tu ses bien *et si* fais mal
Je tieng ton sens a desloial
8045 S'aucune fois ne *se* reprent
Et se tes cuers ne se repent
De la folie qu'as enprise
Molt en sera griés la justise
Gracies rent Dieu de *la* victorie
8050 Et si te mete hui en sa glorie
Quant a parler si biel t'aprist
Biaus dous amis grant garde i prist
Quant a s'ymage te forma
Et Dieus hui en cest jor parla
8055 Parmi *ta* *levre* vraiment
Quar le hiebierge *liement*
Quant il en toi est dessendus
Se te sire est a toi venus
Por metre toi fors de *dolor*
8060 Quar reconois *dont* ton segnor
Et si le croi *tu* feras bien
Nacor tu ses li clerc paien
N'ont en eus point de verité
Issi con tu as *hui* mostré
8065 Car entent cou que je te di
Por .ii. coses t'amenai ci
Quar se li rois t'eust od lui
Je quic k'il te fesist anui
-

8073-8108

- Por cou que tu as hui por moi
 Si bien parlé devant le roi
 8075 Mais or entent le gueredon
 Se tu ton sens et ta raison
 Voes hui mettre a toi consellier
 Dont te porai bien de legier
 Mettre en la voie de salu
 8080 Nacor tu as bien entendu
 C'autre creance n'autre fois
 Ne *doit* iestre car *co* est drois
 Fors la creance au creator
 Qui devisa la nuit del jor
 8085 Tu n'ies pas siecles ce ses tu
 N'as pas en toi si grant vertu
 Que tu vives plus longement
 Que jadis fisent autre gent
 Et se tu siecles devenoies
 8090 Tu ses que pas ne viveroies
 Plus longement que il fera
 Amis li siecles finera
 Et quant tes cors ert trespasés
 Tes siecles iert o toi finés
 8095 Tu peches plus c'autres ne fait
 Quar tu ses bien tot entresait
 Conment li siecles va et vient
 Confaitement on s'i maintient
 Confaitement on i doit croire
 8100 A escient te voi mescroire
 Ta creance est tes esciens
 Dont est t'uevre tes jugemens
 Nachor par grant pitié sospire
 Quant *il si piument* ot dire
 8105 Et raconter le fil le roi
 Sa mesestance et *sa* besloi
 Sire fait il bien croi et sai
 C'au jor del jugement serai
-

8113-8148

- De toutes pars mes cuers alume
Bien sai c'on doit male costume
8115 Plus tost c'on puet descostumer
Or vorai Dieu *de cuer* amer
Quar droiture le m'a prové
Et l'escripture demostré
Que jou autrui siervir ne doi
8120 Sel *siervirai* quar je *le croi*
Li fils le roi a molt grant joie
Quant *vit* Nacor en droite voie
Entrer par son enortement
Lors le siermone *bonement*
8125 Amis aies boine creance
Grans peciés est de desesperance
Lués que tu proieras merchi
Lués l'averas je le t'afi
Tost sera preste ta corne
8130 Se tes cuers del tot s'abandone
A iestre siers nostre segnor
Se tu conquerre *voes* s'amor
Ta penitance ert molt legiere
Ja n'iert si desloiaus peciere
8135 Por ke *de cuer vrai* le reclaint
Et sierve bien que Dieus ne l'aint
Nacor ne t'esmaier tu mie
Guerpis t'error et te folie
Et si t'apuie a Dieu le grant
8140 Celui dois tu traire a garant
Qui tout fist par sa comandise
Del tot *te* met en sa justise
Nacor respont bien le ferai
Ja mais nul jor ne mescrerai
8145 Ains servirai mon creator
De cuer entier et nuit et jor
Et tu *regarde* bien sa foi
Car il en poise molt le roi
-

8153-8188

- Par mesfait ne par traison
 Ne perdes *tu* ton gueredon
 8155 Je m'en irai par ton conseil
 De m'ame sui en grant esvel
 Coment je le porai garir
 Ja mais ne *quier* le roi veir
 Josaphas molt liés en devint
 8160 Et de plorer pas ne se tint
 Nacor isnielement acole
 Bien le castie et aparole
 En plorant a Dieu le comande
 Et c'il s'en va plus ne demande
 8165 Nachor qui *fier* a le corage
 Errant s'en vient *en* l'iermitage
 Et plus le desiroit assés
 Que ciers qui *par bos est* lassés
 Ne desirt a boire fontaine
 8170 Nacor a la pensee saine
 Et envers Dieu molt bien s'aquite
 Errant *en vint* a .i. hiermite
 As ciés li ciet merci li crie
 Les poins li conte de sa vie
 8175 Confiés *le* fait de cuer entier
 Après se fist lués baptisier
 Quar *cil* iert prestre u il ala
Et volentiers le baptisa
 Et le retint tout sans doutance
 8180 Por faire od lui sa penitance
 Nacor molt bonement siervi
 Dameldieu tant con il vesqui
 Tant fist que s'ame fu sauvee
 Je n'oubli pas la matinee
 8185 Que li rois *s'est* matin levés
 Bien set Nacor *s'en est* alés
 Fali li ot de couvenance
 Sor ceus recuevre la vengeance
-

8353-8392

- Mande *qu'il* vieignent a sa fieste
 Mainte fumee d'orde bieste
 8355 I fera boire en liu d'encens
 Quar tel cavage et *tel* cens
 Doit on bien rendre a itel *gent*
 Qui lor dieus font covrir d'argent
 Par tout en vait la renomee
 8360 Si s'esmuet tote la contree
 Cascuns son sacrefise amaine
 8362 Or est li rois en molt grant paine
 8367 Por Theonas est vergondos
 Et a sa fieste molt joios
 Est ce dont fieste nenil voir
 8370 Car il n'i a point de savoir
 Et s'est contre Nostre Segnor
 Dont est la joie sans savor
 La joie n'est pas savorose
 Qui sans Dieu voet iestre joiose
 8375 Et quant la fieste defina
 Li rois a Theonas parla
 Or ai faite ta volenté
 Selonc ceste sollempnité
 Or m'en *rendras le* gueredon
 8380 Et se tu ses nul boin siermon
 Qui mon fil traie a *ma* maniere
 Si en devien ses preheciere
 Li tans et l'eure en est venue
 Se ceste cose *est* avenue
 8385 Je te feroie en ton estage
 D'or *esmeré* molt rice ymage
 Et tos jours mais *t'aoreroie*
 Tant longement con *je vivroie*
 Biaus sire rois ne t'esmaier
 8390 Quar je te sai bien consellier
 Se tu ton fil voes recovrer
 Et fors de ceste error gieter

End of the fragments

